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Occupational Ideologies and Professionalization in Social Work.

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ABSTRACT

This study in the sociology of occupations is concerned with occupational ideologies and professionalization in social work. Sociology is a general science, but the focus in sociology may be a specific one. The importance of occupations as a means of social classification and differentiation is recognized by sociologists. The two specific purposes of this study are: (1) to examine the degree of professionalization in social work and (2) to analyze occupational ideologies in the social work subculture which influence the prestige, authority, and monopoly of social work as a profession. Statistical and typological procedures are employed in the analysis of the two-fold problem. The examination of the degree of professionalization in social work is based upon a survey of scientific and professional literature in the fields of sociology and social work. The empirical analysis is based upon data gathered by the questionnaire method. One hundred and thirty-two persons representing the entire population of two groups of social workers in Dallas, Texas, participated in the study.

Social work is a profession with a systematic body of theory upon which its practice is based; it has received some community sanction through a plan of voluntary certification; it exercises professional authority and has developed norms of professional behavior set forth in a code of ethics which regulates professional-client relationships, colleague relationships, and relationships to the agency and community.

The self-image of social workers reveals that they are convinced that social work ranks high in its power to help others. The prestige of social work is middle range in the general occupational hierarchy and low in the professions. The prestige level of social work in the hierarchy of professions is less clearly positioned among social workers themselves. Social workers, in general, are primarily of middle-class background according to their own self-estimate of social class identification. This classification is influenced by the size of the community in which the worker was reared and the types of association as well as income and occupation.

The boundaries of social work as a profession are not well established. Data in this study imply that social work is not ready to give up some of its broader areas of service and assistance for the sake of a narrow technical competence. There is evidence that the desired educational attainment for social workers exceeds the actual training of the workers now employed.

Social work is not a free practicing profession, and it operates in a wide range of agency and organizational settings, and the individual's self-image of the social worker is often threatened in some settings.

Specialization adds to the confusion of the structural and functional aspects of the social work positions. Social workers are strongly motivated in the choice of social work as a profession because of its

enabling process and problem-solving service.

The movement toward professionalization in social work is complicated by the conflict in norms and ideologies of its own subculture and those of the general culture: humanitarianism versus technical competence; traditional sex roles versus new professional roles; the middle class standards of social workers versus the variation of social background of clientele; and "rugged individualism" versus social responsibility. The process of professionalization is complicated by the middle range occupational prestige of social work which is in conflict with social workers' firm belief that their profession ranks very high in the power to help.

CHAPTER I

PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND METHOD OF STUDY

Statement of the Problem

Social work is one of the twentieth century occupations which is emerging as a profession. The use of the term emerging is an indication that social work is not a fully-matured profession, but one experiencing the gradual and painful process of professionalization. Public attitudes toward the profession of social work cover a wide range, and to a considerable degree reflect the self-image and stereotypes. An examination of the papers presented before the National Conference of Social Work over the years demonstrates that social workers hold many images of their roles, and that these images are sometimes even contradictory.[1] As social workers see themselves in different ways, so the images and stereotypes the public holds of them cover a wide range. These images vary with age, sex, social class, religion, contact with the profession and many other factors. The concept of image is simply the picture which the public holds of social workers as people and of social work as a profession. This composite picture shapes the public attitude toward social work--its functions, organization and structure.

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[1]Melvin A. Glasser, "Public Attitudes Toward the Profession: What Shall They Be?" NASW News (August, 1958), 7.

At this time, social work's responsibility for shaping public attitudes toward and public images of the profession is highly controversial. Some feel that the good will of the client created by sound and skillful professional practice is sufficient to establish the profession. Others in the field, over a period of years, have placed emphasis upon the interpretation of agency function; and more recently some emphasis has been directed toward presenting to the general public the facts about what social workers do and how they do it. Glasser feels that facts alone are not enough. Social workers know well "that getting facts across to a client rarely moves him to change his attitude or to act."[2] Glasser feels that a thoughtful, creative effort to develop favorable attitudes toward the profession is important because:

> 1. Such attitudes will make easier achievement of social welfare's basic objectives. The professional worker makes a key contribution to these objectives.
>
> 2. Favorable public images of social workers leads to more effective use of the services of the profession--by actual and potential clients as well as by agencies and organizations.
>
> 3. Positive attitudes toward the profession are crucial to the success of efforts to bring new recruits into the ranks.
>
> 4. Favorable public images contribute to public esteem of the profession, and thus to better salaries and working conditions, and to opportunities for social workers to be chosen for positions which influence and direct social policy.[3]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

The Commission on Public Attitudes of the National Association of Social Workers is convinced that what social work needs today is the development of a long-range program designed to provide a basis for strengthening favorable attitudes toward professional social workers. This program would make full use of the skills and insights of the social sciences and would be well grounded in fact-finding and research. The long-range program includes four major projects:

> 1. Planning with social scientists a research project to find out what public attitudes toward the profession are now.
>
> 2. Developing a statement defining the image of the social worker which the profession would like the public to hold.
>
> 3. Setting up a series of chapter consultations with various key publics at the local level.
>
> 4. Organizing a conference with representatives of key civic, fraternal and patriotic organizations to lay the basis for ongoing cooperative relationships.[4]

The long range program mentioned above outlines a tremendous research project or projects in the area of public interpretation and public relations in the field of social work. This program has been implemented by the designated committee of the professional organization; but a report from the National Office of the National Association of Social Workers in December, 1958, indicated that very little progress has been made and only preliminary explorations into the possibility of research in public attitudes toward the social work profession have been

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[4] Ibid.

realized.[5]

The primary aim of this study is to select some aspects of the problems involved in the first two projects mentioned above and develop a schematic analysis within a sociological frame of reference. In a restricted sense and in the light of the proposed research on public attitudes, this study might be considered a pioneering effort. However, this writer proposes to limit the objectives of the study and state definite purposes.

Purpose of the Study

This is a study in the sociology of occupations with special reference to professions. In that sense this project is not unique, as substantial advancements have been made in the last fifteen years in this specific area of sociology.

The specific purposes of this study are two-fold:

(1) to examine the degree of professionalization in social work as viewed by the general public and revealed through a survey of the literature in the field of social work and sociology, and

(2) to analyze some elements of the subculture of social work with particular emphasis upon occupational ideologies which influence the prestige, authority, and monopoly of social work as a profession.

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[5]Personal letter to the author from Bertram M. Beck, Associate Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers, New York, New York, December 16, 1958. See Appendix A.

Sociology has been defined as a general science and is concerned with social factors no matter in what context they occur.[6] "The focus of sociology may be a special one...but its area of inquiry is general."[7] Sociology is concerned with human relationships and the manner in which they become institutionalized and structured in society. In sociology, as in anthropology, ethnology, and political science, the importance of the occupations as a means of social classification and differentiation has long been recognized. The subject was given considerable attention in a series of community studies which began with the Lynds' Middletown. "In the last decade, occupational sociology has acquired a background of theory and a mass of new data...yet the field continues to lack a unique identity and is often confounded with industrial sociology."[8]

Everett C. Hughes has taken the position that the division of labor, one of the most fundamental of all social processes, finds one of its explicit expressions in occupations.[9] However, he warns that this expression should not be taken for the differentiation of function in a social whole. "All organization of behavior consists of differentiation of function. Economic division of labor is but a special case, or a special aspect

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[6]Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957), p. 15.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 7.

[9]Everett C. Hughes, "The Study of Occupations," Robert Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard Cottrell, eds. Sociology Today (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 442, 445.

of it."[10] An occupation is not just a particular set of activities; it is the part of the individual in any ongoing system of activities. The system may be large or small, simple or complex. The bonds between the people in different positions may be close or distant, formal or informal, frequent or rare. An occupation is only incidentally technical, and it contains the actual allocation of functions to persons.

> The logic of the division and combination of activities and functions into occupations and of their allocation to various kinds of people in any system is not to be assumed as given, but is in any case something to be discovered. Likewise, the outward limits of a system of division of labor are not to be assumed but are to be sought out.[11]

Caplow, who summarized his work as the study of those social roles which arise from the classification of men by the work they do, has pointed out that posing problems is as essential a scientific operation as their solution.[12] A select number of the problems suggested by this authority will make their appearance in this study: (1) What is the effect of occupational characteristics upon the development of such associations as professional societies? (2) How are social roles appropriate to each occupation created and sustained? What are the devices by which apprentices and novices are trained to conform to the personality pattern of their callings? (3) To what extent does each occupation or profession

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Caplow, op. cit., p. 7.

set its own rules? (4) What are the occupational functions of an educational system? (5) Why does education tend to displace other forms of vocational placement? Other problems which are related to the above and become a concern in this study are: (1) How are the professions differentiated from other occupations? (2) Is there a professional hierarchy? (3) What are the attributes of a profession? (4) What is the professional subculture? (5) What is the impact of occupational ideologies upon professional conduct and the process of professionalization? It is indeed probable that this study may pose more questions than solutions. Even with the current body of theory and new data, the methodological approaches to the study of occupational sociology will change as concepts are formulated and new theories evolve.

Concepts Employed

The following concepts are considered basic in the sociological analysis of social work as a profession.

Status and Role.

A status is simply a position in society or in a group. A status is a position in a social group or groups in relation to other positions held by other individuals in the same group or groupings.[13] An individual's status will differ with the type of group. He may have one kind of status

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[13]Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 217-219.

in an organized group and another kind in an unorganized group. Status is the position conferred by group affiliation, group membership, or group organization. According to LaPiere, "social status may be defined as the position granted an individual in the organized activities of his fellow men."[14] This authority adds that all sorts of irrational values, sentiments, and beliefs may enter into the granting of status. "Some grants of status are made on the basis of antiquated cultural rules, and this makes the grant an outright gift for which society receives no compensating return."[15] In general, however, status is granted whether by a group or by a society at large as a means of obtaining values equal to those given. Therefore the grant of status is not a gift, but rather a part of a reciprocal arrangement of social exchange. What is given may be of the same order as received; or it may differ in kind from what is received in return.[16] The exchanges effected through the granting of status are devious and often involve many intangibles.

According to LaPiere, statuses are ascribed and achieved, generic and specific. Ascribed statuses commonly center around nativity, and statuses granted the child at birth or very soon afterwards hinge upon the sex of the child, the order of birth in the family, the number of siblings,

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[14]Richard T. LaPiere, A Theory of Social Control (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 73-74.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

personal appearance, certain congenital defects, and accidents of birth. "Once granted, ascribed status tends to endure, irrespective of the individual's own conduct."[17]

Achieved status is granted as a social reward for some sort of personal accomplishment and is often based on the assumption that the services will be continued in the future. "Ascribed status never determines the status that an individual will achieve; it does, however, usually limit the character and number of achieved status positions to which the individual is eligible."[18]

According to LaPiere ascribed and achieved status are two dimensions of social status, and the distinction between these two depends upon what constitutes the basis for the granting of the status, e.g. "on whether status is granted on faith and in hope that the individual will in due course pay for it or whether it is granted on the basis of his past performances."[19]

Another distinction which is important in reference to social status is the differentiation of generic and specific status grants. This distinction depends upon how many are involved in the granting of the status and the nature of the relationship. A status which is granted by all or most of the social population is generic. These include ascribed ethnic, class,

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., pp. 78-80.

age, and sex status. Specific status is granted by a comparatively small number of persons who know the individual personally and whose regard for him is personal and intimate.[20]

The status role, the manner in which an individual is expected to act, involves a variety of more or less rigidly defined rights, symbols, and obligations.[21] Simply stated, a role is the behavioral aspect of the status.

Ideology .

"An ideology consists of a number of interrelated beliefs about some matter of major concern to the members of the society..... These interrelated beliefs invariably cluster about and are dependent upon some primary concept of causation, which is usually a personification of the order of God, the Devil, the founders of the nation, or the like."[22] All ideologies that have endured over a period of time are highly abstract, and the beliefs included are vague and ill-defined. The values are of a lofty order and hence without self-evident relevance for daily living. According to LaPiere, the causal concept involved in an ideology, like that in a simple belief, must be reified before the ideology can have any significant effect in the formation of an individual's conduct. The reification of

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., pp. 267-269.

ideologies becomes important because the existence of a given ideology in the cultural context does not make mandatory that it be accepted. Also an accepted ideology can be adopted to support almost any sort of actual conduct. "Status-group reification of an ideology to make it accord with the group values and norms may be accomplished in a variety of ways and, especially when the ideology has a well-entrenched priestly body of representatives, is an exceedingly complex process. When, however, an ideology has been systematically reified--that is, when it has been successfully adapted and sanctioned--by the status group, it can exert considerable influence over the conduct of the individual members."[23] An ideology lying loose in the cultural heritage or one which is being promoted by an outside group does not have the same significance as a status-group-reified ideology. "An ideology that has been reified by the status group becomes a symbolic extension of the group itself, a sort of projection of the group, its norms, and its values beyond the group's actual presence." To the extent that the individual accepts this group-reified ideology, it goes with him wherever he goes.[24]

Occupational Ideologies.

Caplow says that studies of occupational influences appear to be extensive and complex. This influence usually has two major components. First, there are folkways and customs which arise out of the nature of

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[23] Ibid., pp. 277-289.

[24] Ibid.

the occupations or out of the tradition of the occupational group. Second, there are the standards of conduct which are enforced because of the real or supposed effects which their violation would have on the performance of the job.[25]

Occupational Prestige.

Occupational prestige is a specific kind of prestige indicating the rank in the hierarchy of invidious value which any occupation holds relative to any other occupation. Prestige is defined as the invidious value attached to a status or office independently of who occupies it.

Limitations of Study

"Analysis of systems whose limits have not been determined can be very deceiving."[26] This statement suggests the first real limitation of this study of social work as a profession. Even though there appears to be an abundance of professional and scientific literature on the subject of social work, there is still no comprehensive, definitive, and decisive definition of the nature and scope of social work. It is not the purpose of this study to set these boundaries. It is hoped that this study may add a stone or two to the hoped for mosaic which would ultimately result in a synthesis of the occupational structure of social work.

The second limitation of this study is the assumption that social

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[25]Caplow, op. cit., p. 124.

[26]Hughes, op. cit., pp. 445-446.

work is a profession, and the profession is only one type of occupation. Therefore, this is not the study of occupations in general, but the analysis of the structure and function of one specific level of the occupational hierarchy.

The scope of this study is limited, also, in that only one profession is analyzed. This is not a comparative study of the professions in general. Some general reference will be made concerning the relationship of social work to other professions as well as how social work ranks with other professions in prestige, authority, and monopoly.

The scope of this study is limited to the social work situation as it exists in the United States, which, of course, varies from patterns in other parts of the world. Perhaps a most challenging channel for future research will be in the wide area of international social work. The cultural aspects of social work, which is one of the central concerns of this study, are limited to the United States and the American tradition; and social work as a profession will be treated as a subculture of that society.

The empirical data used for this study represent a professional group in a large metropolitan area of the southwest. Therefore, on the surface it may appear that social work in rural areas and small towns has been omitted. This is not really the case, as one group of social workers from the State Department of Public Welfare belongs to a statewide agency. Their attitudes toward the profession are probably

state-wide as well as local. It is not actually within the scope of this study to consider regional aspects of professionalization in social work.

Source of Data and Methodology

A survey of the professional and scientific literature in the field of sociology and social work furnishes the source of data upon which the treatment of social work as a profession is based. It is impossible to review all sources of literature which have contributed to the formulation of the problem and the analysis of data in this study. A diligent effort has been put forth to document the study giving recognition and credit to the many authorities in the field who have influenced this writer's interpretation and analysis of this problem. The statistical and typological procedures have been employed in the schematic analysis of the two-fold problem. Constructive typology may be identified with methodology in that it is a way of handling and ordering the data of any substantive field.[27] The constructed type is a special kind of concept in the sense that it deliberately emphasizes and states the limits of the case. It is a special concept in the sense that it consists of a set of attributes in which the relations between the attributes are held constant for heuristic purposes.[28] "As such, the type is a system in itself; it has the character of a theoretical

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[27]John C. McKinney, "Methods, Procedures, and Techniques in Sociology," Ed. by Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, Modern Sociological Theory (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), p. 225.

[28]Ibid., p. 226.

model."[29] The type then can function as an explanatory schema and as an implicit theory. The drawing out of the type results in explicit statements of hypotheses about the type. In the procedure the attributes are purposively selected on the basis of empirical evidence and put into a pattern that the researcher hopes will serve as a significant base of comparison.

> In summary, the constructed type is a model and as such it throws actual structures or courses of action into a comparative light. The type focuses on uniformity, and it is only through the notion of uniformity that we comprehend variations or derivations.[30]

This writer is indebted to Ernest Greenwood, whose ideal type of the professions serves as a model for the examination of social work as a profession in this study.[31]

The statistical procedure has been applied to the empirical data gathered by the questionnaire method. The questionnaire data were designed for the purpose of analyzing some elements of the subculture of social work with special emphases upon occupational ideologies which influence the prestige, authority, and monopoly of social work. The questionnaire was so arranged to include such items as the scope of

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, II (July, 1957), 45-55.

_____, Toward a Sociology of Social Work, Special Report Series, No. 37, Research Department, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, November, 1953.

social work, social work--a helping profession, occupational prestige, training and education, social work positions, social status of social workers, and a number of categories concerning the personal, social, and educational background of the individual respondent. (See Appendix II for copy of the questionnaire). In February and March, 1959, the questionnaire was mailed to two groups of social workers in Dallas, Texas. The groups selected for the study were the members of the Dallas Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, and the entire staff of Region 111 of the State Department of Public Welfare which covers Dallas and Dallas County. There were, as of December, 1958, 114 members of the Dallas Chapter of the N.A.S.W.[32] The chairman of the Chapter stated in a personal interview with the writer that about 75 per cent of this membership is considered really active. Of the 114 questionnaires mailed to this group, 89 were returned (78.08 per cent). Eighty, or 70.18 per cent, were properly completed to be used in the study. Fifty-six questionnaires were distributed to the staff of the D.P.W.[33] regional office, and 52 (or 92.8 per cent) of them were returned.

The return from respondents in this study presents an amazing similarity to the response rates in a state-wide study of social welfare

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[32]The abbreviation NASW will be used throughout the entire study to mean National Association of Social Workers.

[33]The abbreviation DPW will be used throughout the entire study to mean Department of Public Welfare.

personnel in 1955.[34] Laughton grouped the respondents in his study into the following categories: public assistance personnel--92 per cent responded; personnel in other casework agencies--77 per cent responded; personnel of agencies providing common services--72 per cent responded; group work agency personnel--56 per cent responded.

All together, 160 questionnaires were sent out, and 141 (88.1 per cent) were returned. One hundred and thirty-two (or 82.5 per cent) were tabulated for inclusion in the study.

The selection of the two groups of social workers was not just an arbitrary choice. By using these two groups, both social workers who are members of the professional association and non-members were represented. Both public and private agencies were included. The two groups presented a range in professional training from the minimum to the maximum. A study in 1955 of social welfare agencies in Texas revealed that 91.2 per cent of the public welfare positions in Texas required less than a college degree.[35] One would expect that social workers who qualify for membership in a professional association such as the NASW represent the maximum of educational and professional preparation. This study will present some interesting variations on these two assumptions.

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[34]Charles Laughton, Staffing Social Agencies in Texas, (Austin: University of Texas School of Social Work, 1957), p. 8.

[35]Ibid., p. 17.

A brief description of the respondents will be introduced here, but the empirical analysis of the data from the questionnaires will form the bases for the presentation in Part III of the study.

TABLE I

DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Organization	Number	Per Cent
NASW	80	60.60
DPW	52	39.40
Total	132	100.00

Of the 160 questionnaires sent out, a total of 132 which could be used were returned. In Table I the number and per cent of each of the two groups of social workers is shown.

The question of duplication of membership in the two groups was an early problem to handle. Upon careful inspection, it was discovered that only one social worker was affiliated with both groups selected as the population of the study. This respondent was tabulated with her occupational group (DPW).

Social work has for many years been associated with the occupations of women. Perhaps there are many reasons for this type of classification. However, one basic factor which has to be reckoned with is the fact that more women than men are employed as social workers in the United

States. Table II gives an account of the sex distribution of the respondents in this sample.

TABLE II

SEX OF SOCIAL WORKERS RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Sex	NASW		DPW		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Male	21	26.25	9	17.31	30	22.73
Female	59	73.75	43	82.69	102	77.27
Total	80	100.00	52	100.00	132	100.00

One hundred and two, or 77 per cent, of the social workers responding to the questionnaire were women. This figure represents the total figure. There is an interesting difference in the proportion of females and males in the two groups of social workers included. The NASW group is composed of 21 (26.2 per cent) men while the DPW staff reported nine or 17.3 per cent males. This difference is related both to the fact that one can expect the NASW members to represent a group who receive higher salaries and who have greater opportunity for supervisory and executive positions. This distribution of sex in social work positions agrees in general with most studies of social work personnel, and in particular with the Texas survey by Laughton already mentioned. Laughton showed that 65.6 per cent of the respondents in his study were women. Of social workers now in the field, the percentage of women still far

exceeds that of men. However, in the last few years, one encounters a few facts, now and then, which, if they persist, would tend to lessen this difference. For the first time in its history, a well-know graduate school of social work in the middle west reported more men than women in the total enrollment for the last academic year.[36]

Social workers have never been known to be young people. The typical social worker falls in the age bracket referred to as "middle-aged" and over. The respondents in this study represent a group where the mean age of the NASW group was 44.7 years, not counting the four social workers who were retired and over 70 years of age. The mean age for this group, including these older social workers was 46.1 years. The DPW social workers represented an even older group, and the mean age was 47.3 years. See Table III for detailed distribution of social workers by age. This table shows the age distribution for the two groups of social workers as well as the total.

Laughton, in his state-wide study of social welfare employees, found that the median age of all employed workers at that time was 43 years. In this study, also, the public assistance workers were the oldest group, with a median age of 44 years. He also extended his description of age to the differentiation of the age of those with social work education and those without such training. He found that the median age for social

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[36]Newsletter from George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, Fall, 1958.

TABLE III

AGE OF SOCIAL WORKERS RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Age	NASW		DPW		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
70 - 74	4	5.00	-	----	4	3.03
65 - 69	2	2.50	1	1.93	3	2.27
60 - 64	4	5.00	6	11.54	10	7.57
55 - 59	9	11.25	9	17.32	18	13.64
50 - 54	9	11.25	16	30.77	25	18.94
45 - 49	18	22.50	4	7.69	22	16.67
40 - 44	6	7.50	2	3.81	8	6.06
35 - 39	10	12.50	3	5.78	13	9.85
30 - 34	10	12.50	4	7.69	14	10.61
25 - 29	6	7.50	4	7.69	10	7.57
20 - 24	1	1.25	3	5.78	4	3.03
No answer	1	1.25	-	----	1	0.75

workers with social work education was 40 years and for those without was 43 years. A further descriptive analysis of the age and education of the group in this study will be found in Part III.

The social workers responding to the questionnaire were predominantly white. One hundred and twenty-five, or 94.7 per cent were white; five were Negro (3.0 per cent); and two individuals did not check the category describing race. (See Table IV). However, it would appear that bi-racial social work staffs are not typical of the social work situation in Dallas. All Negro social workers in the study were affiliated with the NASW group and none was from the regional staff of the DPW. Since in Texas Latin Americans are always listed as white, there was no way of determining how many of the social workers were Latin American as

opposed to Anglo-American. The nationality differences of these two groups are of less significance in this part of Texas than in other sections.

TABLE IV

RACE OF SOCIAL WORKERS RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Race	NASW		DPW		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
White	75	93.75	50	96.15	125	94.69
Negro	5	6.26	-	----	5	3.79
No answer	-	----	2	3.85	2	1.52

Over one-third of the social workers who responded to the questionnaire were single, and only 45.4 per cent were married. (See Table V.) Adding actually to the single category in a broad sense was another 19.7 per cent. Fifteen workers, or 11.4 per cent, were divorced; ten or 7.6 per cent were widowed; and one individual checked the category of separated.

TABLE V

MARITAL STATUS OF SOCIAL WORKERS RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Marital Status	NASW		DPW		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Single	32	40.00	14	26.93	46	34.85
Married	41	51.25	19	36.54	60	45.45
Divorced	5	6.25	10	19.22	15	11.36
Widowed	2	2.50	8	15.39	10	7.57
Separated	-	----	1	1.92	1	0.76

Other descriptive data covering such items as religion, income, education, salaries, and social work positions will appear in Part III of the study.

Organization of Study.

Data from the questionnaires have been tabulated, and a descriptive statistical presentation of such data will be made in appropriate sections of the study. Tables, charts, and ranking devices have been used to present the material.

Part I of the dissertation has included an introductory statement, the purpose of the study, a statement on limitations, concepts employed, source of data and methodology, and organization of the study. As indicated by the Table of Contents, Part I has been extended to cover Chapter II on the nature of professions and Chapter III on the nature and scope of social work.

Part II of the study includes four chapters on the professionalization in social work. Chapter IV covers social work as a profession and is primarily concerned with two topics: (1) historical concern with professionalization in social work; and (2) the sociological approach to professionalization. The three following chapters treat the attributes of a profession in the social work situation. Chapter V is a brief summary of the systematic body of theory in social work; Chapter VI deals with professional authority in social work and discusses such topics as client-professional relationships, professional monopoly and community sanction.

Chapter VII discussed professional conduct and is concerned with the code of ethics and the professional culture--the subculture of social work as a profession. Such topics as values, norms, stereotypes and career callings are analyzed in this section.

Part III of the study is an empirical analysis of some elements of the subculture of social work. Special emphases are given to the impact of occupational ideologies upon professionalization in social work. Chapter VIII handles social work as a helping profession and discusses some of the career elements of social work. This chapter is concerned also with the prestige of social work and its position in the occupational hierarchy. Chapter IX deals with social work stereotypes, and the questions of salaries, sex, social class, and age appear in this chapter. Chapter X is entitled "Role Conflicts and Status Insecurities of Social Workers" and discusses social work positions, career aspects social work and the scope of social work.

The final chapter of the study is a summary of the findings, generalizations and/or conclusions.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE PROFESSIONS

Introduction

The professions occupy an important position in the occupational structure of society, and professionalization is becoming a process which demands the concern and attention of many occupational groups. According to Talcott Parsons, the comparative study of the social structure of the most important civilizations shows that the professions hold a position of importance in our society which is, in any comparable degree of development, unique in history.[1] Parsons states that it is evident that many of the most important features of our society are to a considerable extent dependent on the smooth functioning of the professions.[2]

Parsons has emphasized the importance of the professions in the following statement:

> The importance of the professions to social structure may be summed up as follows: the professional type is the institutional framework in which many of our most important social functions are carried on, notably the pursuit of science and liberal learning and its practical

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[1] Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied, "The Professions and Social Structure" (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), p. 185.

[2] Ibid.

> applications in medicine, technology, law, and teaching. This depends on an institutional structure the maintenance of which is not an automatic consequence of belief in the importance of the functions as such, but involves a complex balance of diverse social forces. Certain features of this pattern are peculiar to professional activities, but others, and not the least important ones, are shared by this field with the most important branches of our occupational structure, notably business and the bureaucratic administration.[3]

Parsons continues to point out that certain features in our tradition of thought, for instance, concentration of attention on the problem of self-interest with its related "false dichotomy" of concrete egoistic and altruistic motives, have sometimes served to obscure the importance of other elements including rationality, specificity of function and universalism. Parsons concludes that "often the rather unstable relation of the institutional structure of the occupational sphere including the professions, to other structurally different patterns, can throw much light on important strains and instabilities of the social system..."[4]

Professionalization in any occupation involves several characteristic processes and effects. Effort will be made by the professional group to control the type and standards of work done. Some attempt to define the areas of competence will be made. A profession usually claims exclusive possession of competence in a specific area or specific areas.[5]

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[3]Ibid., pp. 198-199.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. LeBeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), pp. 283-284.

This competence is termed "technical" because it comes from a systematic body of skill based on knowledge which has been acquired through prescribed and specialized training. The profession usually represents a monopoly of skill, and it must justify its monopoly in a specific area.[6] However, the basis of the claim to technical competence varies with each profession emphasizing the distinctive features of its own background and history. These characteristics of the professions in general and of social work in particular will be treated in much greater detail in Part II of the study.

The earliest vocations to move toward professionalization and to achieve full status of professions were the clergy, law, and medicine. But, society changes and the characteristics of the professions are changing. Many occupational groups now claim to be professions or profess at least to possess many of the attributes of the professions. By 1933 when Carr-Saunders and Wilson made a rather extensive survey of the professions in England and Wales, the following vocational groups were treated as professions: dentists, nurses, midwives, veterinary surgeons, pharmacists, opticians, masseurs, mine managers, engineers, physicists, architects, surveyors, land and estate agents, auctioneers, and many others.[7]

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[6] Ibid.

[7] For an elaboration on professions, see A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933).

The recent trend, especially in the United States, is a movement of more and more occupations toward professional status. These movements involve many vocational groups from both the white-collar and blue-collar occupations. Literature in the field reveals the fact long held in the public view that the professions stand high, in fact at the top, of the hierarchy of occupational prestige.[8] But, one might ask, why are these distinctions made in the division of labor and on what grounds are they justified? The answer to this question is related not only to the function of the professions but is influenced by the economic and social structure of the society in which they serve. The professions are functional and they can justify differential treatment and fees determined by the nature, extent and meaning of the services performed. However, function and reward are not always well correlated. The high position of the professions in the occupational structure is supported by tradition and custom. Our cultural heritage has played an important part in preserving prestige and status for the professions. Professions have for a long time been associated with the three main intellectual disciplines of theology, law and medicine.[9] Every society has had its priesthood; many early communities contained the interpreter of the

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[8]Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News (September 1, 1947) pp. 3-13. Reprinted in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, (eds.) Sociological Analysis, pp. 464-473.

[9]A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, "The Professions," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1934), XII, p. 476.

law who came to be known as a lawyer; and most primitive tribes have accorded special position to the medicine man. In time the occupations of the priest, the lawyer, and the doctor, which required scientific and technical training, became known as professions.

In addition to the two supporting factors mentioned above, the distinction of the professions is justified by supply and demand. The scarcity of numbers in the professions makes them more important. This scarcity results from the specialized training and education which is usually costly, covers a long period of time, and is most difficult to master. Also, the distribution of power in the society is greatly influenced by the professions many of which are helping and healing activities endowed with the skill, competence, ability, and power to perform vital and sometimes authoritative services to society.

Because we make these and other distinctions, the professions take on special significance in the social order. According to Lewis and Maude "professional status has thus come to be coveted by ever larger numbers of people, groups, or callings; and 'professional' has become a descriptive term vaguely suggestive of such legitimate privileges, based on specialized knowledge and ethical behavior as can be made acceptable to a society committed to an egalitarian ideal."[10] These authors continue with the following:

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[10]Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, Professional People (London: Phoenix House Ltd., 1952), p. 53.

> The flight into professionalism by technicians, tradesmen, brokers, social workers, and administrators in the last few decades should suggest that no simple, or even comprehensive definition is likely to cover every case, or convey adequately the quality of professional service. Yet that quality is a very real thing, and we ought to make some attempt to understand what we mean by it.[11]

In this chapter an attempt is made to trace briefly the emergence of the professions (the historical growth and development), to review the definitions of the professions, to examine some characteristics of the professions.

The Emergence of the Professions

The history of the professions is the history of specialization, industrialization, and urbanization. It is often said that the professions have arisen out of the technological complexity of modern civilization, and this may be true of most professions as they are known today. But some professions have a longer lineage than the church.

Notable among these early occupations was the lawyer in the ancient Greek culture. In Greece the lawyer was not a specially trained advocate practicing before a specially trained judge, but he was a litigant's friend speaking on his behalf before the litigant's peers, who decided the issues in the case as they saw them.[12]

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[11] Ibid.

[12] A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, "The Professions," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XII, p. 476.

In the Roman Empire the position of the lawyer was much the same as in Greece; the physician, on the other hand, was generally a slave attached to a rich man's household. At the same time, the accountant, the architect, and the engineer were usually administrators in the employment of the state. It seems that in the ancient times there were no training schools where those who followed the vocations which are now called professions received instruction, and that the people practicing the vocation seldom, if ever, formed distinct social groups, and that they were often in dependent positions. They did not form vocational associations of the kind familiar in present day professions.[13]

Looking back for some early sign of the emergence of professions, one can examine the vocations of the Middle Ages. "When speaking of the professions in the Middle Ages we have in mind those vocations which, whatever their status and characteristics at that time, ultimately assumed features which entitle them to be called professions."[14]

Thus the principal difference between the situation in ancient and medieval times was that in the latter the teachers, administrators, lawyers and physicians had received prolonged formal training and constituted a class apart. It was at this point that the characteristic which forms the distinguishing mark of a profession appeared; that is "the possession of an intellectual technique acquired by special training, which

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, op. cit., p. 289.

can be applied to some sphere of everyday life."[15] Carr-Saunders and Wilson conclude, "Thus professionalism emerged with the rise of the universities and was co-existent with the church."[16]

With the medieval culture there emerged two kinds of vocational groups. Many of those doing the work which is now classified as professional were in the ranks of the priesthood while others were organized in guilds.

It was during the eleventh century that this great movement toward associations swept over the cities of Europe and reached England at a somewhat later date. In Europe and England this movement led to the formation of associations around many aspects of social life, and among them the performance of specialized functions and the carrying on of specialized crafts. This spirit (kind of banning together) had become a universal usage among all types of city dwellers by the end of the fifteenth century. The clergy, the legal, medical and teaching professions; the merchants, the shopkeeper, and the craftsman were all characterized by the professional association.[17] In England shortly before 1200, teachers and students, like the medieval traders and craftsmen, banded themselves together into exclusive societies. In

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[15]Carr-Saunders, "The Professions," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XII, p. 476.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, p. 289.

this manner universities arose. "In all such associations it was a rule that no one could practice the craft without formal license, and the university degree was originally nothing else than the possession of a diploma to exercise the function of teaching."[18]

The universities of medieval Europe were, in fact, training schools for work of a kind now labeled professional. Bacon complained of this: "Among so many great foundations of colleges in Europe," he says, "I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions and none left free to arts and sciences at large."[19] This sounds like what might have been the forerunner to the present day controversy between liberal arts education and specialized training.

The universities were not ecclesiastical in origin, but they later came under the domination of the church in the medieval culture which was essentially religious. Many of the students and teachers were ecclesiastics but not all were clerics. Long before the rise of the universities, clerics enjoyed certain privileges and immunities; and these were extended when the universities had been established for all students, lay and clerical, alike.[20] The earliest phases of certain vocations which have since grown into professions were under the dominance of the

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[18]Ibid.

[19]Carr-Saunders and Wilson, "The Professions," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, p. 476.

[20]Rudolph Villenueve, The Social Worker A Study in the Sociology of the Professions (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Fordham University, New York, 1954), p. 23.

ecclesiastical element. Education was so closely bound up with the ecclesiastical functions that the priest and teacher were distinguished with difficulty.[21] Lawyers, physicians, and civil servants were some of the members of the ecclesiastical order who had assumed special functions. So long as the church maintained its power and predominance, the various professions for which the universities trained did not become distinct because most of the professional men were ecclesiastics.

While it might be said that at one time most specialized functions which could be called professional were performed by the ecclesiastics, it is not true for the entire and fully developed medieval system.[22] The early history of the legal profession is obscure; but there is evidence that in the beginning, the ecclesiastics were prominent in this profession. By the middle of the thirteenth century they had been banished from the common bar and bench. However, even after that date it is probable that the bar often recruited from the clerks educated in the universities of the times. "Whatever the true state of the case, it is a fact that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the Inns of Court were fully established and had presumably come into being during the preceding century."[23] These medieval institutions were wholly secular, and the common law in medieval times was divorced from the church. The Inns occupied a

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[21] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, p. 289.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

position midway between the universities and the guilds.

As the culture of the Middle Ages became more secularized, the professions formally considered a part of the church emerged from it. As they did, they became more organized. With the exception of teaching, these professions which had grown up within the church had become secularized, and the process of secularization was complete by the end of the sixteenth century. The Inns of Courts mentioned above and the Royal College of Physicians of London founded in 1518 are notable landmarks in the process of secularization and the emergence from the church of many of the vocations which are today recognized as professions. Among the professions which had grown up within the church, teaching remained in clerical hands long after the Reformation. The common lawyers were secular from the beginning and were organized in the Inns of Court, in effect both a legal guild and a legal university. Thus in England the lawyers evolved neither out of the church nor out of the university, and there was recruitment to the ranks of the professions from what was in all essential points a guild.[24]

The guild made its contribution to the ranks of the professions in all countries, though it was only in England that the lawyers entered by this route. Surgeons and apothecaries were everywhere organized in guilds from an early date. Later in the sixteenth and seventeenth

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[24]Carr-Saunders and Wilson, "The Professions," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, p. 477.

centuries the trading guilds declined and died out; but the surgeons and apothecaries were not just ordinary trading guilds, and they did not suffer the same fate as the other common trading guilds. As knowledge increased and as surgeons and apothecaries became more learned, their guilds gained in status. As a result, in England the surgeons' guilds became the Royal College of Surgeons. In the eighteenth century there were in England three professional associations in the medical field, the two Royal Colleges and the Society of Apothecaries. Two were derived from guilds and one was founded in the sixteenth century as an organization of graduates in medicine.[25] By the end of the eighteenth century the vocations existing in the medieval society which are now known as professions had attained independent status and organization.

Between the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution other professions made their appearance alongside the well-established medieval professions. Accountants were first known in Italy, where there was the formation of the college of accountants. Architects appeared when traditional architecture broke down; but the demand from architects came from a limited class of princes and nobles, and they found themselves dependent upon a great household. However, they did not attain public recognition and full professional rank until the nineteenth century when they began to form membership in the common group. The dentist

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[25] Ibid.

was first heard of in France in the seventeenth century, but had gained some status in the eighteenth century in England.[26]

Up until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the recognition of new professions was an extremely slow process, but since that time professions have increased rapidly. This may be explained primarily by the mechanical revolution and the progress of science which gave rise to the engineers, chemists, and physicists, and to the social revolution which then in turn brought about a demand for intellectual specialists to handle the new and complex machinery: actuaries, surveyors, realtors, secretaries, patent attorneys, and accountants. There were other causes, including the lessening of the power of the church and freedom from the dependence of the public administrators upon the ministers and suffrages of electors.[27]

> We have, therefore, the present situation in the western world where the day-to-day functioning of society so largely depends upon the professions.
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> We recognize a profession as a vocation founded upon prolonged and specialized intellectual training which enables a particular service to be rendered. But this recognition may be hindered by dependence, which militates against group consciousness since it is only under the stimulus of the latter that the practitioners associate together and become a profession in the full sense of the word.[28]

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

Profession: The Problem of Definition

The definitions of profession found in most dictionaries are similar. These meanings of professions are often quoted, but they appear of very little use beyond serving as a convenient point of departure. The Oxford University Dictionary has defined a profession as "a vocation in which professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded upon it."[29] Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defined a profession as the occupation, if not commercial, mechanical, agricultural, or the like, to which one devotes oneself; a calling; as profession of arms, of teaching; or the learned professions of theology, law and medicine."[30]

Many writers who are famous for their interest in the analysis of the professions have avoided a specific definition of the term. Among these are A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, who, after an extensive treatment of the characteristics of a profession concluded that certain vocations possessing certain characteristics in a greater or lesser degree approached more or less the condition of the profession.[31]

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[29]Oxford University Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), III, p. 1427.

[30]Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: C. C. Merriam Company, 1951), p. 674.

[31]A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 4.

> It is in no part our purpose to attempt to draw a line between professions and other vocations; we are not now concerned to say what vocations are professions and what are not.....Indeed the drawing of a boundary-line would be an arbitrary procedure, and we shall not offer, either now or later, a definition of professionalism. Nevertheless, when we have completed our survey, it will emerge that the typical profession exhibits a complex of characteristics, and that other vocations approach this condition more or less closely, owing to the possession of some of these characteristics fully or partially.[32]

These same authors are noted as saying later that the term profession clearly stands for something, and that something is a complex of characteristics. The true professions possess all or most of these characteristics, and they stand at the center. All around these acknowledged professions are grouped many vocations which exhibit some but not all of these features.[33]

> If we had to define a profession we should find it difficult to improve the definition given by the O. E. D.: 'A vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others, or in the practice of an art founded upon it.'[34]

These authors conclude that, "The application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, acquired as the result of prolonged and specialized training, is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the profession."[35]

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 284.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. 287.

At a more recent date, Roy Lewis and Angus Maude have suggested that a moral code is the basis of professionalism. These authors have formulated a set of characteristics of the professions and agreed with Carr-Saunders and Wilson in that respect, but their emphasis is upon the moral code as the one absolutely necessary feature of a profession.[36] These authors have stated

> .....it is clearly indicated that the basis of professional morality lies in the fiduciary capacity of the man practicing his profession.....for this reason it would appear that a moral code is the basis of professionalism.[37]

Lewis and Maude continue with the reservation that it might not always be easy to demonstrate this meaning to such professions as journalism or the arts, but they explain that the aspirations of journalists toward a strict guardianship of truth against the pressures of newspaper proprietors is an indication that journalism seeks a responsible attitude "even comparable with that in medicine or law."[38]

Robert M. MacIver agrees with Lewis and Maude in placing special emphasis upon professional ethics. MacIver states that the spirit and method of the craft, which has been banished from industry, finds a more permanent home in the professions.[39] MacIver asserts that the business

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[36]Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, Professional People (London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1952), p. 64.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]R. M. MacIver, "The Social Significance of Professional Ethics," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCVII (January, 1955), 118.

world has not yet attained a specific code of ethics resting on consideration broader than the sense of self-interest and supplementing the minimal requirements of law. MacIver states that the ethical problem of the profession is to fulfill as completely as possible the primary service for which it stands and at the same time to secure the legitimate economic interest of its members. It is this attempt to find the due place of the intrinsic and of the extrinsic interest which gives a profound social significance to the professional code of ethics.[40] This author explains that the professional interest combines a number of elements. The extrinsic interest mentioned above covers the economic and social status, the reputation, authority, success, fees, and salaries. This professional interest also includes technical interest directed to the art and craft of the profession, to the maintenance and improvements of its standards of efficiency, to the quest for new and better methods and processes, to the promotion of training considered necessary for the practices of a profession. It may also include a third element which may be classed as cultural. For example, in the profession of teaching, the technical interest in the system of imparting knowledge is one thing and the cultural interest in the knowledge imparted is another.[41] These three elements of professional interest are usually interwoven, but they may also operate separately as they may be subject to the pull of opposite

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[40] Ibid., p. 120.

[41] Ibid., p. 122.

forces. However, if we carry this concept too far, we find that it conflicts with many of the other classical characteristics of the profession. But there is apparent here the special kind of morality which is common to most of the definitions of the profession.

It does seem apparent that there is some confusion in the recent discussion of professions. Cogan believes that this perplexity is derived in a large part from the difficulty in communicating ideas and resolving differences when a single term (profession) is to designate disparate referents.[42]

According to Cogan, there are three levels of definitions of the profession. The first type of definition is the historical and lexicological. This first level definition is concerned with the general concept of the profession and is extracted from the historical and traditional associations clustering about the term. Cogan recognizes that this is a difficult task and involves a recognition of the complexity of the concept and a sustained effort to cut through the multiple secondary meanings clustered about the core meaning. Cogan offers the following illustration of this level of definition:

> A profession is a vocation whose practice is founded upon an understanding of the theoretical structure of some department of learning or science, and upon the abilities accompanying such understanding. This understanding and these abilities are applied to the vital practical affairs of

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[42]Morris L. Cogan, "The Problem of Defining a Profession," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCVII (January, 1955), 105.

> man. The practices of the profession are modified by knowledge of a generalized nature and by the accumulated wisdom and experience of mankind, which serve to correct the errors of specialism. The profession, serving the vital needs of man, considers its first ethical imperative to be altruistic service to the client.[43]

The second level of definition is called "persuasive." These are definitions designed to redirect people's attitudes. This level of definition is of great concern to the practitioners who are interested in defining a specific profession and who would desire to isolate the unique conditions of their area of specialization. This type of definition is desired because of the nature of profession and the behavior of man. The profession demands a high level of long and technical training and the commitment to a strict code of ethics. Both of these attributes are required; and if either fails, there is failure in the profession. Men have commonly needed to be encouraged to undertake such training and to be subjected to the dictates of such a code. If a profession is to remain desired and desirable, where it becomes necessary to redirect men's attitudes, the power of the persuasive definition should not be underestimated.[44] The insights provided by the first and second level are especially valuable for the construction of theoretical models within which the profession may be examined and from which important hypotheses may arise. However, these definitions fail when they have been

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[43] Ibid., p. 107.

[44] Ibid., p. 108.

applied as operational criteria for deciding whether specific phenomena are to be called professional, non-professional or un-professional.[45]

The third level of definition is called operational. This level of definition is primarily designed to furnish the basis upon which individuals and associations may make specific decisions as to the behavioral concomitants of profession. This level of definition requires the scientific observation and measure.

> Operational definitions are the guide-lines for the practitioner as he faces the day-to-day decisions of his work. They are, for example, the rules for professional conduct; they mediate the practitioner's relations to his client, to his colleagues, to the public, to his association. They set forth the specific criteria of general and special education for the professional, the requirements for admission to practice, the standards for competent service.[46]

The major advantage of the operational definitions is that they restrict the area of unique professional behavior and tend to stabilize the boundaries between genuine professionalism, unprofessionalism, and non-professionalism. The operational definition has been of greatest use in establishing prerequisites for actual practice in setting up standards for accredited schools: admission requirements, curriculum, and facilities for instruction.

Cogan summarizes as follows:

> In summary, it appears that some of the problems of defining a profession can be resolved if the practitioners

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

> (1) seek to establish a general framework within a lexicological and historical context, (2) provide ideal incentives through the persuasive definitions, and (3) develop the behavioral and operational definitions that give direction within the unique conditions of a specific profession.[47]

The Characteristics of the Professions

Many authors have specified the necessary requisites of a profession. Factors included in the criteria of the typical profession vary in content, meaning, and number. At the same time even with the application of different terminology, there are common elements in the classified criteria of professional status.

According to Lewis and Maude, the basic characteristics of professional status are: (1) registration (2) practitioner-client relationship (3) ethical code (4) ban on advertising of services, and (5) independent service but one of a fiduciary nature.[48]

Characteristics in the form of definitions and criteria have been proposed by many authorities in the literature on professions, but perhaps one of the most classical and inclusive such proposals was the six criteria proposed by Abraham Flexner in 1915. Briefly stated they are as follows: (1) intellectual operations combined with large individual responsibilities (2) raw materials drawn from science and learning (3) practical application (4) educationally communicable technique

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Lewis and Maude, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

(5) tendency toward self-organization, and (6) increasingly altruistic motivation.[49]

At this point it would only belabor an unnecessary cause to include more of the many and various classifications of the characteristics associated with the professions and professional people. In Chapter IV the attributes of a profession will be elaborated in detail.

In an attempt to examine the nature of the professions, it might be wise to distinguish the profession from science and business. One difference is that scientists in the purest sense do not have clients. The scientists discover, systematize and communicate knowledge about some order of phenomena. But the activities of the scientists are carried out primarily because they do add knowledge, and not because any individual client or group will benefit from their activities or services.

MacIver has pointed out that there is a marked contrast between the world of business and that of the professions. This is particularly evident in the area of ethical responsibilities.[50] MacIver continues

> It cannot be said that business has yet attained a specific code of ethics, resting on considerations broader than the sense of self-interest and supplementing the minimal requirements of law.....When we speak of business ethics, we generally mean the principle of fair play and honorable dealing which men should observe in business.[51]

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[49]Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?," Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1915. pp. 578-581.

[50]MacIver, op. cit., p. 118.

[51]Ibid.

MacIver also pointed out that there is no general brotherhood of businessmen from which the offender against the sentiments, who does not at the same time overtly offend against the law of the land, is excluded as unworthy of an honorable calling. Something more than a common technique and a common occupation is needed in order to establish an ethical code, the basis essential for a profession, and that is the ideal of service. This author asserts that it may be safely said that so long as within the industrial world the cleavage of interest between capital and labor, employer and employee, remains as it is at the present, "business cannot assume the aspect of a profession."[52] This internal strife reveals a fundamental conflict of acquisitive interests within the business world and makes it impossible for the intrinsic "professional interest to prevail."

Talcott Parsons expresses the opinion that in modern Western society, business and the professions have much more in common than is generally evident on the surface; and they cannot be differentiated on the basis of self-interest as contrasted with disinterestedness. Business and the professions have well differentiated patterns; but they have some elements in common which are rationality, specificity of function, and universalism.[53] Parsons suggests that the motives of the professional man and the business man are based on a search for competency in

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Parsons, op. cit., p. 185.

specialized areas, and recognition and prestige in their respective fields by rational and scientific means.

From what is known about professions it appears that the professions have been able to make better adjustment of particular interests of their members to the common interest or general welfare. In this manner the professions have attained a clearer sense of their relationship to the whole community. The elite of any profession are usually conscious of a communal identity. William J. Goode has stated that "as the profession comes into being, or as an occupation begins to approach the pole of professionalism, it begins to take on the traits of a community."[54] In the article, "Community Within a Community: the Professions," Goode is concerned with the profession (a community) and the larger society of which it is a part and on which it is dependent. Goode has expressed this concept as follows:

> Characteristic of each of the established professions, and a goal of each aspiring occupation, is the "community of profession." Each profession is a community without physical locus and, like other communities with heavy inmigration, one whose founding fathers are linked only rarely by blood with the present generation. It may nevertheless be called a community by virtue of these characteristics: (1) Its members are bound by a sense of identity. (2) Once in it, few leave, so that it is a terminal or continuing status for the most part. (3) Its members share values in common. (4) Its non-members are agreed upon and are the same for all members. (5) Within the areas of communal action there is a common language, which is understood only partially

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[54]William J. Goode, "Community Within a Community: the Professions," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957) 194-200

> by outsiders. (6) The community has power over its members. (7) Its limits are reasonably clear, though they are not physical and geographical, but social. (8) Though it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially.....[55]

Goode feels that by virtue of these characteristics, a profession is a community; but professions vary in the degree to which they are communities.

It has been said that the professionals stand at the apex of prestige in the occupational system.[56] However, this does not mean that all professionals have the same prestige. The increase in complexity of the division of labor which has resulted from the growth of modern cities and status has had a profound influence upon the professions. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., in a recent article has differentiated four major types of professions in the modern industrial states.[57] First, there are the old established professions which are founded upon a theoretical structure of an area of learning which is applied in the practice of the art founded on it. The members of a vocation in this group adhere to a mode of behavior and there is a strong control of the entrance into and membership of the vocation. Religion, medicine, law, higher education and

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[55] Ibid.

[56] National Opinions on Occupations (University of Denver, Denver: National Opinion Research Center, 1947) pp. 15-17.

[57] Albert J. Reiss, Jr. "Occupational Mobility of Professional Workers," American Sociological Review, XX, (December, 1955), 693.

aesthetics are associated with the old established professions. Second, there are the new professions which have their own basic studies upon which their practice is founded. Typical vocations in this group include the chemists, engineers, natural and social scientists. Third, there are the semi-professions which tend to replace the theoretical study of a field of learning by acquiring a precise and technical skill. The basis of the semi-professions is technical knowledge and practice. Nursing, pharmacy, optometry and social work have been classified by some writers as typical semi-professions. Fourth, there are the would-be professions where members are aspiring to professional status. This group of vocations are characterized by familiarity with modern business practices and governmental activities. Examples of these occupations which aspire to professional status are: sales engineers, personnel directors, business counselors, funeral directors, and various institutional managers. The fifth group, identified by some writers in the field, is referred to as marginal professions. This category is made up largely of persons who perform technical assignments associated with professional activities and can best be illustrated by medical and laboratory technicians, testers, illustrators, draftsmen, interpreters and inspectors.[58] Therefore, within the professions with their high prestige in the overall occupational structure, there are several levels of professions which are

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[58] Ibid.

determined by the function, structure, and purpose of services. Some professions are stable and allow for little or no shifting (mobility) while other professions aspire to upward mobility within the professional hierarchy.

Summary

The professions, as they are known today, have resulted from the gradual emergence of the traditional professions, the creation of new professions to meet the needs resulting from the complexity of modern Western society, the appearance of the semi-professions much needed in the bureaucracy, and the aspirations of the would-be professions which aspire to share in the social and economic benefits impinging upon professional status. The image of the professions is further complicated by the marginal professions which are associated but often excluded from the recognized professions. The definition of a profession is a difficult task in spite of the fact that the term is used with more concreteness of meaning than is attached to other social systems in the social structure. There are definite sets of criteria by which the degree of professionalization may be measured; this in turn results in the types of professions. The process of professionalism will be treated in Chapter IV. The distinguishing elements of the profession set it apart from science and business; but at the same time, they have more in common than is generally evident upon casual analysis. The profession and business share in common such elements as rationality and specificity of function.

CHAPTER III

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOCIAL WORK

Social work had its beginnings in the concern for people. From the very earliest times people have shown concern for each other's welfare and a great capacity for helping one another. This concern for fellow human beings in spite of war and disagreements among peoples has been an important factor in the formation of the family, the tribe, the state, and modern society.[1]

Religious teachings emphasized and reinforced mankind's feelings of benevolence, and mutual aid and brotherly love became basic elements in human relationships. The church has kept alive and continuous the idea of service to people, and even today retains this service as a vital function of the organization. As society became more complex and living became more difficult, the traditional services which the church gave to the people in distress were no longer adequate, and consequently other organizations arose and were established to meet the expanding needs of people. The recognition of human needs follows a pattern in which the earliest of man's difficulties to attract attention was the problem of poverty. Because of this, social work was first organized to meet the needs of the economically deprived. Later came

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[1] Social Work as a Profession (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1957) p. 6.

the recognition of the special physical needs of certain groups, notably the aged and infirm, the young dependent child, the physically sick, the mentally ill, the unemployed, the handicapped, and institutions were established to care for these special categories of needy individuals.

At this time the emphasis in service for people was more upon "doing for" people by providing them with essentials such as food, clothing, and shelter, or with opportunity for "character building." Facilities such as the almshouse, the poor farm, the soup kitchen, the social settlement and orphan's home were typical of this stage in the development of social service. This concern for the basic needs of people is still a part of social work process today, but new insights and knowledge from the behavioral and social sciences have brought a greater understanding of people and the causes of problems which prevent them from leading happy and useful lives. Along with increased insight and understanding there has developed a method of helping people to solve their problems, a method which combined scientific knowledge with the art of the practitioner.

Then, today, the emphasis of social work in the United States and throughout most of the world is in a process of changing from a program of "doing things" for people in need to a highly skilled process of "working with" people to help them live more effectively. This process represents a shift from the concern with the problems of poverty alone to a concern with problems of personality and of social adjustments; and the services of social work are made available to any citizen and not

merely the underprivileged and handicapped.[2] Herbert Bisno in a recent article has summed up the transition in the following words:

> As a restless response to a dynamic society, social work in the United States has continued to evolve, adding new functions, surrendering certain old prerogatives, accumulating knowledge, developing new skills, and modifying certain of its underlying assumptions. In this process of gradual transformation there has been, of course, a basic continuity. Yet social work as we see it today is certainly "something more than a grown-up system of philanthropy."[3]

It is the purpose of this chapter to review this transition in the field of social work by an examination of terminology and the review of the various approaches to the study of the field. The cultural context of social work and the development of social work methods will serve to complete a brief survey of the nature and scope of social work.

Social Work Terminology and Definitions

Social work and social welfare are terms often used with much confusion. Two other closely related terms, social services and social security, intensify the state of confusion. Friedlander, in 1955, approached a clarification of these concepts with the following definitions: "Social welfare is the organized system of social services and institutions, designed to aid individuals and groups to attain satisfying standards

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[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Herbert Bisno, "How Social Will Social Work Be?" Social Work, I (April, 1956), p. 12.

of life and health."[4] Its aim is two-fold--of personal and social relationships which assist individuals in the development of their full capacities, and the promotion of their well-being in harmony with the needs of the community.[5] On the other hand, "social work is a professional service based upon scientific knowledge and skill in human relations, which assists individuals, alone and in groups, to obtain social and personal satisfaction and independence."[6] These services are usually performed by a social agency or are related functions of an institution. If this distinction is accepted, then, social welfare has a much broader implication than professional social work. The meaning of social welfare, which has been characterized by one author as "an organized concern of all people for all people"[7] is so broad as to include many areas of concern and activities rightly claimed to be the function of several professions, disciplines, or practices. Social welfare services are administered by public and private organizations with specific functions and structure. The objective of social welfare is to secure for each human being the economic necessities, a high standard of health and decent living conditions, equal opportunities with his fellow citizens,

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[4]Walter A. Friedlander, Introduction to Social Welfare (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 4.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Gertrude Wilson and Gladys Ryland, Social Group Work Practice (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949), p. 16.

and the highest possible degree of self-respect and freedom without interfering with the same rights of others.[8]

Social security is a program of protection provided by society against those contingencies of modern life--sickness, unemployment, old age dependency, industrial accidents, and invalidity--against which the individual cannot be expected to protect himself and his family by his own abilities and capacity.[9] The goal of social protection is usually obtained through various forms of public assistance, social insurance, and preventive health and welfare measures. These social security activities do not generally include private social welfare services, but both social security programs and private welfare activities are important to the total system of social welfare activities in this country. The social security act in the United States includes three types of programs offering both services and assistance as well as insurance benefits. Services, assistance, and insurance benefits are incorporated into the United States Social Security program, and include public child welfare, health services, public health, and vocational rehabilitation.

Friedlander adds that "social work is both a science and an art and is carried on in its practical application in different forms which are all based upon a common core of knowledge and skill which we call

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[8]Robert Kelso, The Science of Public Welfare (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928), p. 22.

[9]Friedlander, op. cit., p. 5.

'generic social work'."[10] The six forms referred to in this statement will be considered later in this chapter under the heading of social work methods. To maintain that social work is both a science and an art needs some explanation. Friedlander justified this statement by explaining that social work has drawn its knowledge and insight from political science, psychology, sociology, economics, psychiatry, anthropology, biology, history, education, and philosophy; but "by synthesis it has developed into a science of its own."[11] He continues this analysis with the explanation that social work is also a profession, and as a profession social work depends upon a body of knowledge based upon other sciences, the specific structure and function of social welfare activities, and the skill and responsibility which is required for each professional activity. This explanation is carried further when the author explains that "as a helping process social work assists people with problems of social and emotional adjustments and helps them to achieve greater social and personal satisfaction and independence."[12]

This statement of the nature and scope of social work represents a degree of refinement which is characteristic of present day literature in the field, but at the same time is somewhat shrouded with the same kind of vagueness which might have prompted an editorial some years

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

ago in a well-known newspaper in a Southern city. The title of the editorial was "What is a Social Worker" and it is quoted below:

> The New York School of Social Work recently wrote to eminent physicians, scientists, teachers, clergymen, bankers, authors, journalists and other professional men and asked them what they understood a social worker to be. Herewith, in part, is the best answer received:
>
> "Personally I detest the whole canting vocabulary of the uplift business. Every person is or should be in some sense a social worker, seeking to solve the world's problems, to extend fellowship, to guide those who are astray, to turn light into dark places.
>
> Perish the thought that only those are social workers who get their living by it, i.e., are paid for it. Many such are not social workers at all, but only unsocial meddlers who do infinitely more harm than good.
>
> It is a very narrow interpretation to attach the appelation only to those who 'work' among the poor; but if you enlarge its application only to those who try to work intelligently in the interest of the social welfare, you have to take in everybody who has something beside a selfish interest in life!
>
> Every school teacher is a social worker; every honest pastor, every parish priest worth his salt. Next thing you know you'll have to let in newspapermen and doctors, street car conductors, telephone operators, and God knows who not.
>
> Must a person be conscious of the fact that he is a social worker? So I end where I began--damned if I know. And if this be treason--make the most of it."[13]

This statement is recognized as a journalistic interpretation, but it made its contribution to the incorrect public image of the social worker.

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[13]Editorial in the Dallas Dispatch, June 5, 1923.

What seems to this writer to be a much more adequate statement of the nature and scope of social work has been made by Herbert Stroup.[14] While social work is scientifically oriented in terms of the knowledge and methods it uses, it also involves certain elements of skill which make it akin to an applied or practical art. "As a subject, social work is scientific; as a practice, it is an art." He is concerned with social work as a system of social meaning or a definite arrangement within our society. Stroup concludes that

> Social work is the art of bringing various resources to bear on individual, group, and community needs by the application of a scientific method of helping people to help themselves.[15]

This statement of the nature of social work indicates a threefold classification of the methods in the field of social work. Methods in social work will be discussed more in detail under that heading.

Before continuing with further analysis of more recent literature on the nature and scope of social work, it will give insight as well as continuity in understanding to examine some of the early attempts at the definition of social work.

One authority has called social work "a salvage and repair service."[16] Another has referred to social work as "the art of helping

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[14]Herbert H. Stroup, Social Work: An Introduction to the Field (New York: American Book Company, 1953), pp. 1-2.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Edward T. Devine, Social Work (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), p. 1.

people out of trouble."[17] Stuart Queen in an early book, Social Work in the Light of History, analyzed social work as "the art of adjusting personal relationships, of helping to overcome difficulties which may arise, for example, between native and foreign-born, between employers and employees, and between school and home."[18] Among the subdivisions of social work, some of the early definitions were more specific, especially in the area of social case work.

Perhaps the most frequently cited definition of social case work is one given years ago by Mary E. Richmond: "Those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment."[19] Miss Richmond related case work to the general field of social work in the following statement:

> Case work seeks to effect better social relations by dealing with individuals one by one or within the intimate group of the family. But social work also achieves the same general end in other ways. It includes a wide variety of group activities...in which the individual, though still met face to face, becomes one of a number. By a method different from that employed in either case or group work, though with the same end in view, social reform seeks to improve conditions in the mass, chiefly through social propaganda and social legislation.[20]

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[17]Karl de Schweintz, The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924).

[18]Stuart Queen, Social Work in the Light of History (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922), p. 18.

[19]Mary E. Richmond, What is Social Case Work? (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922), pp. 223-224.

[20]Ibid.

Miss Cheyney, in 1926, included in her definition "all voluntary attempts to extend benefits which are made in response to a need, are concerned with social relationships, and avail themselves of scientific knowledge and methods."[21] About this same time one of the schools of social work announced that social work is immediately concerned with the development or rehabilitation of those individuals, families, and institutions which for whatever reason are not adjusted to the communities of which they are a part, and with the development or reorganization of communities as a whole.[22] Considering these two definitions, Warner and others suggested that they might be combined to read as this: "the development of personality and group life through adjustments systematically effected between persons or groups and their social environment."[23]

In 1929 the Milford Conference defined "generic" social case work as involving the following aspects:[24]

1. Knowledge of typical deviations from accepted standards of social life.
2. The use of norms of human life and human relationships.

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[21]Alice S. Cheyney, The Nature and Scope of Social Work (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1926), p. 24.

[22]Bulletin of the University of Southern California, October, 1928, p. 11.

[23]Amos Warner, Stuart Queen, and E. B. Harper, American Charities and Social Work (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1930), p. 556.

[24]Social Case Work: Generic and Specific (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1931), p. 15.

3. The significance of social history as the basis of particularizing the human being in need.
4. Established methods of study and treatment of human beings in need.
5. The use of established community resources in social treatment.
6. The adaptation of scientific knowledge and formulations of experience to the requirements of social case work.
7. The consciousness of a philosophy which determines the purposes, ethics, and obligations of social case work.
8. The blending of the foregoing into social treatment.

In general "generic" case work refers to skills, techniques, and philosophies which are tools of all case workers regardless of the specific area in which they are engaged. On the other hand, "specific" case work refers to various areas of special emphasis in casework practice such as family casework, child welfare, medical social work, psychiatric social work. The term generic was first used in reference to social casework, but in more recent times has been applied by some to the field of social work in general.

A few years later, in 1932, Bertha C. Reynolds summarized the process with the statement that "social case work is a process of counseling with the client on a problem which is essentially his own, involving some difficulty in his social relationships."[25] It is with interest to note at this time the word counseling was used to describe a process in social work. It was during the 1930's that social workers began to incorporate the concepts of psychoanalysis into the professional

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[25]Bertha C. Reynolds, "An Experiment in Short-Contact Interviewing," Smith College Studies in Social Work, III (1932), 9.

practice. In their search for some theoretical framework which would help them to understand the mystery of human behavior and attitudes, social workers eagerly accepted this new psychology; and as a consequence, notable advances in practices, techniques and understandings were made. Later, in 1938, Grace Marcus spelled out her definition of social case work: "Social case work is concerned with some specific problem which the client is encountering in reality and with helping him to use whatever capacity he has to deal with it actively and responsibly."[26] In 1949 Swithun Bowers stated that:

> Social casework is an art in which knowledge of the science of human relations and skill in relationships are used to mobilize capacities in the individual and resources in the community appropriate for better adjustment between the client and all or any part of his total environment.[27]

Taking the illustrations given above out of the many and varied attempts to state the nature and scope of social work, one can trace a few trends. It appears that in the past social work has been predominantly a matter of benevolence while today it is becoming increasingly a matter of professional service. Social work is concerned with individual and social adjustment. For the social worker the problems involved in economic well-being and social behavior are usually interwoven. The

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[26]Grace Marcus, "Social Case Work and Mental Health," The Family, XIX (1938), 103.

[27]Swithun Bowers, "The Nature and Definition of Social Casework: Part III," Journal of Social Casework, XXX (December, 1949), p. 417.

problems handled are no longer just those of economic deprivation, but include counseling in any area disturbed by malfunction of the personality traits or elements in the social environment. There is some evidence of the clarification of values, purposes, activities, and methods of social work--a working toward the definition of social work practice.

Perhaps one of the most recent and adequate explanations of social work has been expressed by Werner H. Boehm.[28] Social work seeks to enhance the social functioning of individuals, singly and in groups, by activities focused upon their social relationships which constitute the interactions between man and his environment. These activities can be grouped into three functions: restoration of impaired capacity, provision of individual and social resources, and prevention of social dysfunction. This definition of social work is based upon certain underlying assumptions:

(1) Social work, like all other professions, has problem-solving functions.

(2) Social work practice is an art with a scientific and value foundation.

(3) Social work as a profession came into being and continues to develop because it meets human needs and aspirations recognized by society. Hence, it assumes some of the socialization and control

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[28]Werner H. Boehm, "The Nature of Social Work," Social Work, III (April, 1958), 10-18.

functions of society.

(4) Social work practice takes its values from those held by the society of which it is a part. However, its values are not necessarily or altogether those universally or predominantly held or practiced in society.

(5) The scientific base of social work consists of three types of knowledge: (a) tested knowledge, (b) hypothetical knowledge that requires transformation into tested knowledge, and (c) assumptive knowledge (or "practice wisdom") that requires transformation into hypothetical and thence into tested knowledge. The practitioner uses all three types of knowledge, and carries a professional responsibility for knowing at any time which type of knowledge he is using and what degree of scientific certainty attaches to it.

(6) The knowledge needed for social work practice is determined by its goals and functions and the problems it seeks to solve.

(7) The internalization of professional knowledge and values is a vital characteristic of the professional social worker since he is himself an instrument of professional help.

(8) Professional skill is expressed in the activities of the social worker. It constitutes his artistic creation resulting from three internal processes: first, conscious selection of knowledge pertinent to the professional task at hand; second, fusion of this knowledge with social work values; and third, the expression of this synthesis in professionally

relevant activity.[29]

The nature of social work today reflects the nature of the society in which we live. It is dynamic and subject to change. One authority in the field has recently referred to this aspect in an article on a changing profession in a changing world.[30] The same authority has also made reference to social work as "humanitarianism in search of a method."[31]

What happened in the United States was the merging of two types of humanitarianism. One type was founded in the ideology that placed priority upon the individual and his rights with only secondary concern for society. This concept was born out of the fear of government and emphasized procedure and attitudes rather than specific institutions. This was a philosophy which reflected the needs of a relatively simple agricultural society and did not keep pace with the demands of rapid growth and change which took place. Society was conceived of as perfect and provided the necessary opportunities for all who would seek them. Any able-bodied individual who failed to achieve success needed punishment, and reform of the individual was the order of the day. This group was inclined to accept a rather simple, highly individualistic morality and was not concerned with environmental causes or social responsibility.

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Nathan Cohen, "A Changing Profession in a Changing World," Social Work, I (October, 1956), 12-19.

[31] Nathan Cohen, Social Work in the American Tradition (New York: The Dryden Press, 1958), Part I.

However, others felt that the prevailing methods for dealing with deprivation were inconsistent with the ideology that all men are created equal and they derive inherent and inalienable rights. People soon became reluctant to place the blame for failure and dependency upon the individual alone. Interest was turned to reforming the environment through political and legislative means. A new role for government was created in which new patterns of meeting health and welfare needs were established. Both types of humanitarianism have made their contributions to the enlarging field of social work and give background to the dual approach in social work.[32]

Methods in Social Work

Social work today has found a methodology and a two-pronged approach.[33] The two-pronged approach embraces concern, on the one hand, for the adjustment and development of the individual toward more satisfying human relations, and, on the other, for improving the social institutions within which the individual functions.

> It seeks through its work with individuals, groups, and the community to help people find within themselves the resources for solving both the problems that affect them alone and those that affect people in general.[34]

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

Therefore, social work is not only concerned with the individual and the social institutions within which he functions, but also with the relationship between the institutions and the individual.

Social work, with its application of scientific and practical procedures, is an organized method of helping individuals, groups, and communities.

Social Casework.

As a process, social casework is primarily interested in helping individuals, on a person-to-person basis, to attain the fullest degree of personality development. Traditionally case work has been concerned with those persons who, for some reason, have been unable to achieve a fairly normal adjustment to life and who need help and support. Today, some authorities maintain that social casework is becoming increasingly of benefit to all people.[35] Many persons may have a generally normal adjustment to life; and, then a time may come, when they face a problem with which they need help. Stroup made the statement that "every person can profit by casework services at one time or another."[36] Social casework is a personal-social treatment process. It involves the release of individual ability and the alleviation of environmental pressures. In the beginning, social casework was practiced in relatively

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[35]Stroup, op. cit., p. 2.

[36]Ibid.

few types of agencies and institutions. But, through the years it has been applied in newer settings and today there are many agencies, institutions, and organizations which have incorporated the contributions of social caseworkers. To list all such agencies would be far too numerous for this study. However, the wide scope of the field can be indicated by mention of the following: courts, clinics, hospitals, military organizations, industry, family welfare agencies both governmental and voluntary, the American Red Cross, Travelers' Aid Societies, child welfare agencies, institutions for the aged, for criminals and delinquents, for dependent and handicapped children, day nurseries and schools, adoption agencies, child guidance clinics, mental hygiene organizations and health agencies. Social casework is a generic process and is modified by the manner in which it is practiced by specific agencies.

Social Group Work.

Social group work is based upon the conception that all human beings have basic, common needs.[37] Some of these needs can be satisfied through group association. However, not all associations satisfy these needs. In fact, some tend to thwart them. Social group work is that branch of social work which helps individuals in their relations to certain groups. It is a process of helping individuals through their participation in leisure-time, educational activities conducted under a

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[37] Ibid., p. 11.

group leader.[38] Group work is directed primarily at benefiting individuals, but it also attempts to relate the individual to group behavior and also to the broader community and its values. Sometimes group work is referred to as "character building" and in this sense is closely related to social casework in its aims. As some of our social institutions (such as the church and the family) have lost prestige and influence and in this way lessened their ability to satisfy group needs, the process of social group work has found a significant function. The method of social group work is somewhat different from that of social casework even though both are concerned with better human relations. The group work agency determines the nature of the group work method to be used for the achievement of its aims. In earlier periods of social group work the programs were supported by voluntary and private agencies interested in leisure-time and recreational services.[39] Social group work involves an agency structure in the community, but it is chiefly a process. The chief benefits derive not so much from the agencies which support it as from the processes of interaction among the members of groups.

The early activities of group work agencies pertained to youth and children and immigrant groups. The settlement houses, Y's, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts and similar agencies and organizations are typical of the early development in group work. But in recent years

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 13.

its activities have been extended to other types of agencies. More recently, group work has moved into new areas: religious education, housing, adult education, hospitals, child-caring institutions and community centers.

Social group work is a relatively recent development and is much less developed than social casework, but the spread of the method to new proving grounds is a very significant trend. The recent appearance of various forms of group therapy indicates another important trend.[40] It is quite possible that as this therapy develops it might become a major type of social work activity. At this stage of development, social group work is more concerned with the normal individuals who wish to take part in constructive experiences while group therapy is aimed more toward those who cannot make good use of normal group experience.[41]

Community Organization.

The activities of community organization are difficult to define because in some areas the activities are actually performed by caseworkers and group workers. However, in general, the functions which are identified as community organization are: coordination of services,

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[40] Ibid., p. 17. Group therapy is the group treatment of individual behavior problems under the direction of a trained leader who combines the principles and methods of individual psychotherapy, social group work, and certain other specialized techniques.

[41] Ibid., p. 19.

joint financing of social services, public relations work, research, planning, and the initiation of new services. These functions may be assumed by an individual agency with regard for its own program or they may involve neighborhood councils, councils of social work agencies, state and regional councils of agencies, national and international agencies. The focus of community organization is upon the activities of groups of people and is the form of social work which helps communities.[42]

Social Action.

Social action, whose function is the meeting of mass needs, has been considered as a social work method by some authorities. By others it is only an assisting element as social work has no monopoly on social action.

A survey of present day literature on social work reveals no general consensus on the processes which should be included in the field of social work. Some authorities, as Stroup, have designated only the three basic methods of social casework, social group work, and community organization. Other writers have gone beyond the three basic methods and included as many as six processes. Friedlander recently summarized the confusion in this area by differentiating the six processes of social work as (1) social casework (2) social group work (3) community

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[42] Ibid.

organization (4) social welfare administration (5) social welfare research and (6) social action.[43]

Social Work and Culture

It would be difficult to understand the function of social work in the changing society of America unless one understands something of the nature of culture in general and the American culture in particular. Social work is a part of culture and is embodied in the folkways, mores, institutions, and laws of American society.[44] Culture may be thought of as the traditional or learned ways of behavior that become established in an ongoing social group.[45] This informal definition points to two important aspects of culture. First, the learning takes place in a social context and is shared by other members in the group. Second, there is historical depth connoted by the word "tradition." Social work possesses an elaborate history which in one sense reaches back to the earliest human associations. Social work inherits this cultural heritage and employs it in meeting current needs. Social work also relies upon language as a means of communicating learned and shared ideas and values. Without this facility such terms as social casework, Social Security Act,

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[43]Friedlander, op. cit., p. 6.

[44]Herbert Stroup, "Culture Context of Social Work," Social Work Yearbook (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957), p. 59.

[45]Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework (New York: Council on Social Work Education, n.d.)

Charity Organization Society, public relations, child welfare would not exist for social workers and society. Therefore, it is a facet of general culture. It is both a contributor and a borrower in relation to the general culture. The review of the definitions given above bears out this fact. Social work philosophies, goals, activities, functions and methods have been influenced by the accumulation and change in the general culture. Social workers now speak of assistance and services to people--not charity; of the people in need and not the destitute or "poor"; they refer to laws of public welfare and not the poor laws, to the mentally ill and not the insane.

The manner in which social work has successfully patterned after business in the organization of office procedures and the administration of office procedures and the administration of personnel illustrates this borrowing from the general culture. The concepts of self-reliance and confidentiality are based upon American mores. Social work, then, could not exist without a profound dependence upon certain aspects of the general culture.

Social work receives support from the general culture of which it is a segment; but at the same time it is faced with opposition and conflict in relation to some of its ideals, functions, and practices. Social class, race, ethnic and minority groups, problems of urban living, changes in our economy, and extended governmental activities are all areas experiencing great change both in general culture and in social work. In

the past social work has from time to time modified its nature and function to meet the changing needs of the American people.[46]

Interpretation of Social Work

Social work has been interpreted at several levels and by various personnel with vested, academic, or scientific interest in the field. According to Helen I. Clarke, there were four levels of interpretation: (1) the meaning to the man-on-the-street (2) the semi-professional meaning (3) scientific meaning and (4) empirical meaning.[47] These will be discussed briefly as follows. There is the man-on-the-street interpretation which gives social work a traditional meaning deriving from Christian and humanitarian motives. This belief holds that generous individual impulse and private charity are sufficient to meet the problems of people in distress. The man-on-the-street does not know the terms casework and group work, but he is sure that the deeds of the minister who helps the down-and-outer or the person who gives change to the beggar on the street can be called social welfare along with the activities of a paid worker who is employed by the public welfare department or family service agency. The man-on-the-street interpretation of social

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[46]For detailed discussion of social work and culture see Herbert Stroup "Cultural Elements of Social Work," Social Work Yearbook, 1957.

[47]Helen I. Clarke, Principles and Practice of Social Work (New York: Appleton-Century, Inc., 1947), pp. 7-18.

work is that welfare work is doing good, regardless of motive, agency, method, personnel or results and that charity, welfare work and social work are synonymous.

The semi-professional interpretation is that of many welfare administrators who in all of their confusion are groping for a professional definition. This definition was a result of a meeting of seventy-five county public assistance directors. This group was confused about the similarities and differences between social welfare and social work and about what is involved in professionalizing a set of activities. They were unwilling to admit that social work, like any profession, is a complex of general and special skills, of a particular philosophy, and of a defined code of ethics. This group identified social welfare and social work and thought that participation in the activities and purposes of welfare makes welfare and social workers. They lacked adequate consideration of what constitutes professional practice.

The scientific meaning, which is well illustrated by Witmer's interpretation of social work as a social institution, narrows social work to few and special practices.[48] Having limited the activities which can be legitimately included as social work, it was not difficult to treat social work as an institution which resulted in a rather limited functional definition. This approach will be discussed more in detail later. "This

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[48]Helen L. Witmer, Social Work: An Analysis of a Social Institution (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942), p. 16-17.

interpretation is that of the theoretician who narrowly institutionalizes and professionalizes social work."[49]

The empirical interpretation is the point of view of those social workers who believe that professional social work is a complex of purposes and skills, practices, theories, and that there is such a thing as social work even though the exact boundaries are not clear. "This approach is that of the practical scientist who attempts an empirical definition."[50] Clarke summarizes this interpretation as follows:

> Social workers, like doctors and lawyers, may be general practitioners or they may be specialists. If they know the subject matter of their profession, if they have had supervised practice, if they have as their prime objective helping human beings by improving person-to-person relations and the social environment, if they are analytical and critical of effects and results, they are professional social workers.[51]

Social Work: A Social Institution.

Several authorities in the field of social work have made reference to social work in an institutional frame of reference. In this area Dr. Helen Witmer has made the most careful analysis of the characteristics of social work in a book entitled, Social Work: An Analysis of A Social Institution.[52] She applied Malinowski's definition of a social institution

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[49]Clarke, op. cit., p. 7.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., p. 18.

[52]Witmer, op. cit., p. 47-65.

and concluded that social work was an institution because it had activities, personnel, a charter and norms and material apparatus. She concluded that social work is a social institution because (1) it comprises a system of concerted and specialized activities which (2) are carried on by an organized, specially designated group of people, who (3) operate under a system of values which, (4) are put into effect through material apparatus. Miss Witmer uses much of her book for analyzing what features of social work are distinctively social work activities. She seems convinced that the actual determination of what activities are legitimately social work are not a matter of historical precedent or of knowledge but rather they are determined by the real functions of social work.[53] That function is "to give assistance to individuals in regard to the difficulties they encounter in their use of an organized group's services or in their own performance as a member of an organized group."[54] By organized groups she means institutions like the family, the neighborhood, the school, the church, the state and the nation. Miss Witmer's analysis appears to make a distinction between social work and social welfare. Social work is concerned with difficulties in social relationships as they arise in particular settings--in connection with the family, with the school, with hospitals or clinics; and those aspects of practice which deal with general personal relationships or

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[53] Ibid., p. 121.

[54] Ibid.

social adjustment in general are not social work. According to this author many activities called group work and community organization are not social work but recreation, education, and planning. Miss Witmer's public welfare administration and research are auxiliary to the main purpose of social work rather than being a part of its essential nature. In her analysis she excludes social action as a part of social work. Miss Witmer summarizes her statement by saying:

> Our search for the activities that are indubitably social work leads, then, to the conclusion that they are to be found chiefly in the field of social casework and in some aspects of group work as well, and that they also include those organizational, administrative, and research activities that are a necessary part of social casework and social group work. These activities which appear undoubtedly to be social work have a common element in their concern for individuals who suffer from social or economic difficulties.[55]

This type of analysis is excellent within its theoretical frame of reference, but is too restricted to be accepted by many in the field of social work who hold that welfare activities and social work practice are interdependent. It has been pointed out that the task of social work as a social institution is mainly that of providing services to other social institutions: economics, political, familial, educational, and religious.[56] As many of the other social institutions dropped their traditional welfare functions, there has been greater need for social work. The family

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[55] Ibid., p. 43.

[56] Stroup, Social Work Year Book, p. 58.

recreational function is one to illustrate this point. The settlement houses, boys and girls clubs, movies, radio and television and various other outlets have relieved parents of the responsibilities for recreation. What has happened to family recreation may be true of other family functions also. The church, which was at one time the center of life and activity in the community, is now only one facet of activities in the community. However, the number and importance of the present church-supported philanthropies should not be over-looked and under-estimated. Social work, then, emerged when various community institutions gave up their welfare functions, and in one sense is a substitute for functions that previously were carried on by the home, the church, and other community organizations.[57] What seems to be dysfunctions or displaced functions of other social institutions became the function of social work.

Social Work: A Social Movement.

Social work is a social institution, as has been suggested by Helen Witmer, but the above discussion also indicates that social work has been and is a social movement. Not all social change is purposeful, but a social movement is a collective enterprise which consciously seeks to effect change. A social movement is instilled with ideas about a new order of life or some idealization which constitutes a psychological and

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[57]Stroup, Social Work: An Introduction to the Field, p. 38.

moral appeal to its followers. To the extent that social workers do not just wait until social problems occur, but engage in effort (including social action) to secure for men what they themselves believe to be their right and responsibility, to that extent social work is a social movement. Social work is aided by or hindered by a number of other social movements which exist outside of social work--in order to achieve in their own way benefits which people seek. Many movements such as The Townsend Plan, Moral Rearmament, Father Divine, the Nazi Party, the Temperance Movement, and legislative pressure groups are engaged in activities which are presumed to benefit society. It appears that social workers have not been as capable of initiating effective and conscious social change as have others whose focus has been upon other problems.

These failures are related to lack of development of its understanding and practice of communication (public relations) appeal to volunteers, lack of research orientation, and social action organization. However, social work is one area in which social movements are steady and continuous, and usually productive even if slow.

Joseph W. Eaton has hinted at the direction of social work as a social movement in a recent article.[58]

> Social work has been described as an emergent social practice, with diversified interests, but no area of

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[58]Joseph W. Eaton, "Whence and Whither Social Work? A Sociological Analysis," Social Work, I (January, 1956), 12.

> exclusive jurisdiction. It is being unified by a common route of training, and by integrated organized planning for action. It is a professional subculture, with middle range status among the multitude of applied behavioral sciences. It is a change-oriented movement bent upon increasing its area of knowledge, its responsibilities and its recognition.

This statement certainly suggests the nature of social work as a social movement and the influence of social change. It also hints at the direction in which social work is moving: that is, toward professionalization.

Social Work: A Profession.

Finally, social work may be interpreted as a profession. Social work as a profession is focused upon the people who perform a social service and how social work services are organized. The process of professionalization will be the subject of Part II of this study.

Summary

Any attempt to define social work is likely to be controversial, and in that sense this study is no different from others. The treatment above has been an effort to view the nature and scope of social work by the consideration of definitions chronologically arranged (this is certainly no exhaustive exposé of definitions) which reveal that social work has been a part of the development of the American tradition. It is a part of the general culture, stems from and is supported by it, and constitutes a subculture of its own. Social work functions have been grouped

around several basic methods which include social casework, group work, and community organization. There are several interpretations of social work ranging from the common man-on-the-street version to the practical science explanation of social work. Most authorities are agreed on many elements of social work, but points of difference arise around the basic functions of social work areas of competence, methods and processes, and social work practice. Can social work be both science and art? Can one clearly distinguish between social welfare and social work? Can social work justly claim professional status?

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION

Introduction

This study is concerned with the process of professionalization in the field of social work. The space given to professional aspects of social work in professional journals and academic literature is lacking in agreement, sporadic, and at some points even controversial. The purpose of this chapter is to review the historical concern with professionalization in social work. Also, the sociological approach to social work as a profession will be considered by reviewing the attributes of a profession related to the practice of social work. It is conceived that a review of the changing concepts of social work as a profession since 1900 might give some historical perspective and relative evaluation of the present status of social work.

Historical Concern with Professionalization in Social Work

The growth of professions has accompanied industrialization everywhere, but in America the process has perhaps proceeded farther than in most other countries. The professionalization is therefore one of the most important developments in American social welfare. Social work as a profession is primarily a product of the twentieth century.

Timothy Nicholson, in his presidential address before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1902, stated that the immediate future was "to be the scientific age of our work."[1] Social work was at the point of developing a "new look" in its program, methodology, and point of view. This early beginning might be referred to as only a professional "gleam" as there were not yet any professional organizations in social work.

Flexner.

As early as 1915 Abraham Flexner expressed real concern about the professionalization of social work in an article entitled, "Is Social Work a Profession?" He set forth his criteria for a profession as follows:[2]

(1) Professions are intellectual and learned. The first mark of a profession is that the activities involved are essentially intellectual in character. With this emphasis upon intelligence, the responsibility of the practitioner is at once large and personal. The person must exercise a very large discretion as to what he shall do. The practitioner is not under orders. Though he be cooperating with others, though the work be

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[1]Timothy Nicholson, "A Glance at the Past, A Look at the Present, a Vision of the Immediate Future," Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1902, pp. 1-12.

[2]Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Correction, 1915, pp. 578-581.

teamwork rather than individual work, his responsibility is not less complete and not less personal. The quality of responsibility follows from the fact that professions are intellectual in character; for in all intellectual operations, the thinker takes upon himself a risk.

(2) The second criterion of the profession is its learned character, and this characteristic is so essential that the adjective learned really adds nothing to the noun professions. Professions would fall short of attaining intellectuality if they employed mainly or even largely knowledge and experience that is generally accessible. They need to resort to the laboratory and the seminar for a constantly fresh supply of facts. It is the steady stream of ideas, emanating from these sources, which keeps professions from degenerating into a mere routine, from losing intellectual and responsible character.

(3) In the third place, professions are definitely practical. No profession can be merely academic and theoretical; the professional man must have an absolutely definite and practical object. His processes are essentially intellectual; his raw material is derived from the world of learning; he must do with it a clean-cut, concrete task.

(4) A profession must possess a technique capable of communication through an orderly and highly specialized educational discipline. The members of a given profession are pretty well agreed as to the specific objects that the profession seeks to fulfill, and the specific kinds of skill that the practitioner of the profession must master in order

to attain the object in question. On this basis men arrive at the understanding as to the quality and the amount of training, in general and specific, which should precede admission into the professional school and the kind and content of professional training. These formulations are meant to exclude from professions those incapable of pursuing them in a large, free and responsible way, and to make sure that those potentially capable are so instructed as to get the fullest possible benefit from the training provided.

(5) A profession is a brotherhood....."almost, if the word could be purified of its invidious implications, a caste."[3] A strong class consciousness soon develops. Professions are self-organized, with activities, duties, and responsibilities which completely engage their participants and develop group consciousness.

(6) Devotion to well-doing is thus more and more likely to become an accepted mark of professional activity, and as this development proceeds, the pecuniary interest of the individual practitioner of a given profession is apt to yield gradually before an increasing realization of responsibility to a larger end.

Flexner felt that social work conformed only in part to the professional criteria as stipulated above. It derives its material from science and learning, from economics, from ethics, religion, and

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[3] Ibid.

medicine. There is a rapid evolution of a professional self-consciousness. In one respect in which most professions fall short, social work is on about the same level as education, for the rewards of the social worker are in his own conscience and in heaven. The social worker's life is marked by devotion to impersonal ends, and his own satisfaction is largely through the satisfaction procured by his efforts for others.

However, it was Flexner's opinion that social work, in the stage in which it was at that time, could not qualify as a bona fide profession. Some of the areas in which it was found lacking were the following: (1) basic preparation in the social sciences; (2) a body of exclusive and distinctive knowledge and a transmissable professional technique; (3) definite educational and professional qualifications tested under state supervision; (4) professional organization; and (5) a code of professional practice.[4]

Kenneth L. M. Pray.

In 1934 Mr. Pray discussed the question of professionalization in social work in an article, "Are There Reliable Distinguishing Characteristics of Competent Professional Social Work?"[5] He approached the subject by suggesting what he thought were the distinguishing

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Kenneth L. M. Pray, "Are There Reliable Distinguishing Characteristics of Competent Social Work?", Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1934, pp. 517-522.

characteristics of a social worker. In the first place, a competent professional social worker is professional in outlook and in conduct. Some of the qualities connoted by "professional" are: (1) a sense of responsibility and accountability to a group of earnest workers in the same field, for a kind of standard or policy and performance one sets up for one's self on the professional job; (2) the professional person is not content to act in isolation; (3) he is conscientious, idealistic, and progressive in spirit.

In the second place, the professional person would display a thoughtful, discriminating, and humble approach to the solutions of problems. He would avoid snap judgments, and he would demonstrate mastery of his job. Professional work is intellectual in quality; it is not impulsive. Intellectual problems rarely have a single and decisive answer. This does not mean that the professional worker lacks the ability to make decisions or is slow in action. But he is so secure in his own reliance upon his own professional method that he can afford to be considerate and tentative in seeking a sound basis of choice.

In the third place, the professional social worker respects professional confidences and professional relationships. He does not gossip or talk carelessly with just any person about the particular problems which come to him. The social worker should show a decent reserve, even in his own intimate group, in matters relating to his clients.

In the fourth place, the truly professional social worker is one

who makes use of his experience, and because of the accumulation in learning can go more directly to the heart of the problem and waste less energy in the process.

Mr. Pray continues his characterization of the professional social worker by stating that "there are special aspects of the social work job that impose special obligations and require special abilities--else social work is not professional at all."[6] Some of the qualities in this category are the following;

Since the subject matter of social work consists of human relationships, its ultimate quality is to be measured by the quality of relationships which the social worker sets up with those with whom he works. This is, of course, intangible and difficult to measure; but one important element is the capacity to which one keeps one's own emotional problems, one's own prejudices and blind spots, one's own fears and wants, out of the professional relations with others whether clients, board members, or lay persons. The social worker is more interested in getting the other fellow's viewpoint than in pressing for the acceptance of his own.

This author says that the measurement of the competence of the professional social worker cannot rest upon statistical or quantitative factors. Neither can it be measured by dollars and cents. Kenneth Pray in this early appraisal of the professional social worker expressed one other quality of great significance, and that is "an awareness of an

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[6] Ibid.

interest in, and a sense of responsibility for, the outcome of fundamental social movements and changes that promise the release of human beings from the pressures and misfortunes that bring them in such overwhelming numbers to the gate of social agencies. Social workers as technicians, as routine practitioners of routine functions, are not professional at all."[7] This effort to isolate reliable distinguishing characteristics of competent professional social work is based upon techniques and personal characteristics of the social worker and fails to give proper emphasis to the function and structure of social work as a profession.

Early Attempts at Certification and Registration.

But at about this same time there were others in the field of social work who were not willing to accept as professional criteria the neat and beautiful statement of what "a social worker should be." This group began at the other extreme and were interested in official recognition and status of social workers. The best known early movement of this nature was in California. Discussion of the possibility of registration and certification of social workers began in California about 1920, and came to action in 1928 when a bill was drawn up and sponsored by the League of Women Voters and the California Conference of Social Work.[8]

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Martha A. Chickering, "Official Recognition and Status of the Social Worker," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1934, pp. 523-531.

The bill was passed by the Assembly but was defeated in the Senate of the state legislature in 1929. The defeat was attributed to the sudden opposition of a group of social workers who feared that under the bill their positions would be threatened. After this incident the League felt that the social workers were poor allies and that they had better organize their own forces before trying to put through another bill.[9] The registration and certification of social workers will be discussed in Chapter VI, but it is mentioned here because of its historical and developmental significance. After the failure of this attempt at legislative control of registration and certification, the California social workers began to consider voluntary registration under the auspices of the California Conference of Social work. This program was initiated at the 1932 annual meeting of the Conference when a department of registration and certification was established.[10] In 1933 the department of registration and certification adopted a set of by-laws, and elected a board of five examiners who were given complete and final responsibility for setting up of standards for registration and were all set to experiment within the "family" of social work before asking for support of a state agency. Some of the problems which the board of examiners faced were: (1) the liberal "blanketing-in" clause for the protection of marginal groups, (2) to secure public understanding, (3) the qualifications for the

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

professional social worker, and (4) what constitutes a recognized social agency. This group agreed upon the fact that social work can, in general, mean the whole field of social endeavor, but when it comes to the definition of social work as a profession, it is something more limited. The board of examiners clearly stated and adhered to the policy that no member of another profession could be registered as a social worker until he or she had special training in social work, or two years of experience as a professional social worker. They felt that no person in a volunteer capacity, even though working full time, should be registered. Based in part upon Miss Breckenridge's definition of a social agency in the proposed Illinois bill for registration, the California Board of Examiners proposed the following:

> A recognized social agency should have the following general qualifications: it should (1) be primarily a social service agency (2) have sound administration with a board at the head (3) have approved methods of financing (4) cooperate with other community agencies (5) have adequate staff in quantity and quality (6) maintain adequate records (7) maintain a definite office and (8) use professional procedure.[11]

Miss Chickering said at the time of the writing of her article that registration should certainly not become an artificial wall to protect a group of "entrenched persons from competition."[12] At the same time it should set up honest restrictions against those unqualified persons out

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

of the field who would like to pour into it because there are many positions available which seem interesting, socially accepted and endowed with that power over other human beings which is often very flattering. This group suggested that examinations should be set up which would avoid pseudo-professional standards and assure genuine standards of a genuine profession distinct unto itself.

Voluntary registration exists in the State of California, but the plan is not regarded as adequate to meet the needs of the profession. Legal sanction as a distinguishing mark of the profession is not even at the present firmly rooted. A national voluntary plan of registration has been proposed as a step toward preparing the public for legal regulation.[13]

Esther Lucile Brown.

Esther Lucile Brown, in 1942, expressed her firm belief that social work was well on the way to attaining full professional status. In her book entitled, Social Work as a Profession,[14] she demonstrated how social work did qualify or was in the process of qualifying as a profession according to the criteria established by Mr. Flexner. She goes on to point out that in the sixth criterion alone, which is so fatal to many

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[13]"Social Work as a Profession," Social Work Yearbook, (1957) pp. 558-559.

[14]Esther Lucile Brown, Social Work as a Profession (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1942), pp. 21-23.

groups, social work had nothing to fear. Aside from the ministry, probably no other group has ever been more concerned with the general welfare. Social work has also conformed for a long period to three other criteria. It has self-consciousness, fostered particularly by social caseworkers, which is readily apparent in the large attendance at the National Conference of Social Work and at state conferences; and also in the growing membership of the American Association of Social Workers and its local chapters and other more recently organized professional organizations. Also, Miss Brown says, social work is intensely practical in its aims--so practical, in fact, that it has often been criticized for partially neglecting the search for general principles and the creation of a broad social philosophy which might form a solid foundation for practice. Its subject material comes, at least in part, from science and learning: from economics, sociology, biology, psychology, psychiatry, religion, medicine, and law. The responsibility of social work is individual, according to Brown; and "as one views the vocation of social work in 1942 it seems fairly evident that it has progressed far in the direction of professional status, even when measured by the Flexner criterion."[15]

In 1943 Lucile Brown published one of the few studies of the comparative development of professions in which social work was included.[16]

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Esther Lucile Brown, "Comparative Developments in Social Work, Medicine, and Law," The Family, XXIV (1943), 243-255.

Miss Brown prefaced her study by stating that two major purposes motivate the several professions: (1) the improvement in the quality of service rendered and (2) improvement in the working and living conditions of their constituent members. The study was limited to the three professions of medicine, law and social work; the points of comparison were limited to four topics, pre-professional training, requirements for professional training, professional associations, and services provided society.

From the standpoint of pre-professional training, social work has set higher standards than either law or medicine. At that time 90 per cent of all students registered for the certificate or degree in social work were required to have the baccalaureate degree. At this same time the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association made certain requirements. Two years of college were required and three or four were recommended. However, the requirements of the majority of the schools were higher than those laid down by the Council. Careful evaluation of all records determined the selection of the "most promising students." Certain subjects including English, biology, physics and chemistry were required, but there was no specific rule concerning the number of credits in each. The section on Legal Education in 1943 had reached no official agreement about pre-professional curriculum. Over the years there has been much disagreement but most schools on the approved list demand a minimum of two

years of college. The length of the curriculum should be at least three years full-time or four years part-time and evenings. Few of the law schools made reference to recommended courses, and the University of California, which was known to have high standards included as required courses English, Latin, logic, philosophy, mathematics, and introduction to physical science. A limited knowledge in other specified subjects was suggested. The University of Minnesota held a very rigid definition of subjects which included English, philosophy, history, political science, economics, and psychology. As early as 1935, the curriculum committee in social work stated that economics, political science, psychology, and sociology were the pre-professional subjects most closely related to the social work curriculum. Some in the field recognized the value of biology, English and history. However, there was no direct pressure exerted upon schools to comply with recommendations.[17]

Requirements for Professional Training: In medicine the Council on Medical Education and Hospital Standards stated that the standard four year curriculum consisted of 900 to 1000 hours annually and nine fields of study were prescribed which included: (1) anatomy (histology and embryology) (2) physiology (3) bio-chemistry (4) pathology-bacteriology-immunology (5) pharmacology (6) hygiene and sanitation (7) general medicine (8) general surgery and (9) obstetrics and gynecology. As

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[17] Ibid.

much as 76 per cent of the entire four years had to be spent in meeting these requirements. Areas in medicine which were at that time in need of further development were: (1) obstetrics and gynecology (2) psychiatric instruction (3) public health and preventive medicine, and (4) social and economic aspects of medical care.

In law, theoretically every school was free to offer what it pleased. State boards and legal examiners exercised some indirect control and certain subjects as contracts, torts, real property, and criminal law were offered by all schools. There was decided emphasis upon private law; but some recent interest in public law such as constitutional law, legislation, administration, taxation, labor law, and legal education has also been indicated.

In social work at that time the American Association of Schools of Social Work exercised more control over the curriculum of its member schools than did the American Association of Law Schools but less than the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association. Since most states had not assumed responsibility for the licensing of social workers, the schools of social work were under no compulsion from official examining boards and bodies as were both law and medical schools.[18]

As far as curriculum was concerned, emphases were upon casework,

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[18] Ibid.

group work, public welfare, community organization, labor problems and social legislation. Some courses were still on the descriptive and attitude forming level of undergraduate education and lacked the quality of professional training.[19]

Professional Associations: In medicine there were three organizations: the county medical association, the state medical association, and the American Medical Association. The American Medical Association was a powerful organization politically and economically; Brown stated, "Nothing could be more unfortunate than the public relations program of the American Medical Association. It maintains belligerently that only the medical profession is competent, not merely to diagnose and treat disease, but to determine how, when, and where medical care should be provided for society and at what fees."[20] At least 121,000 of the probable 180,000 physicians were members of the association at that time.[21]

In law the early organization was weak and applied to a few wealthy and socially prominent lawyers. Some reorganization took place in 1936 and all members of the state bar association were eligible. However, only about 30,000 of the 178,000 American lawyers and judges belonged to

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

the American Bar Association. The headquarters of the Bar Association in Chicago was used as a model, and it had a small staff and small budget. In much of its social outlook, the American Bar Association was more flexible than its medical counterpart. There was an active committee on Legal Aid work which was interested in the problem of the legally indigent, but there seemed to be no concern about the accessibility of legal advice to all social classes. However, there was no counterpart to Legal Aid in the American Medical Association.[22]

In social work the American Association of Social Workers provided membership for all who met educational and professional requirements. Membership in the American Association of Social Workers in 1943 was 10,600, but the number of social workers registered in the 1940 federal census was nearly 70,000. However, the percentage of social workers belonging to the national body is only slightly less than the percentage of lawyers represented in the American Bar Association after its sixty-five years of existence. Much of the work of the American Association of Social Workers was done by three program divisions: Division of Employment Practices, Division of Personnel Standards, and Division of Government and Social Work. There was evidence of some trade unionism, most of it among non-professional groups in welfare agencies and programs.[23]

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

Social Services Provided Society: In medicine, uncoordinated, but otherwise excellent medical services were generally provided the wealthy and the upper middle class. Physicians cooperated generously with hospitals and community agencies in furnishing much good care through urban clinics for the poor. In return, the doctors gained admission to the hospital staffs and obtained prestige as well as opportunity for clinical experience and research.

In law, services to the wealthy and corporate classes were of unexcelled quality. Preventive legal services were totally inadequate even though some advances had been made. The office of the Public Defender was a specialized form of legal aid for the indigent, but not much in a legal sense was done for the forgotten social class.

In social work many services for the poor and destitute and other classes were offered by the settlement houses, family welfare, children's institutions and public welfare. But social work, even though at one time rooted in reform, has not been active in social legislation, social action, and the formulation of policies for the welfare of all groups. Either social work must content itself with being largely the technician who intelligently and faithfully executes policies already formulated, or it must take vigorous steps to move forward to the place where it can participate to a greater extent in social organization.[24] Long ago the legal profession made its decision in favor of vast intervention in

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[24] Ibid.

economics and political matters. It has never swerved from an ardent belief in its capacity to do the job of advising and exercising administrative control over both great corporations and government agencies, as well as the job of advising individual clients. Brown concludes her comparative study with this challenging statement:

> The responsibility for authoritative statement concerning social problems and their adverse effect upon human personality...is more clearly that of social work than of any other profession...Only when social workers make effective use of that 'area of competence' and attain to a share in leading the attack on such problems will their profession grow to full stature and will society be served to the best of their abilities.[25]

Using only these four criteria Brown was able to show that social work in some areas at that time measured up well with two of the older professions. Social work often classified as a new profession held pre-professional educational requisites which were not as specific but of a higher academic level in general than did medicine and law. Four years of college or the bachelor's degree was the essential required for entrance in a professional school of social work. The graduate curriculum was beginning to take on definite structure, and the schools had to meet specific requirements for accreditation by the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Membership in professional associations had not yet taken on the significance for social workers that it had for members of the medical profession, but social workers showed in a few years as much progress in this area as lawyers had in their much longer history.

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[25] Ibid.

Hollis and Taylor.

The findings of the Hollis-Taylor study which was made for the National Council on Social Work Education and published in 1951 pointed out two major sets of criteria which indicated the readiness of the profession to assume in full its professional responsibility; first, by the criteria which indicate the extent to which the workers constitute a profession, and second, by an analysis which shows the character of the professional activities undertaken.[26] Regarding the first set of criteria, these authors were of the opinion at the time of the study that social work was still in its "early adolescence" of becoming a profession and that only the hard core of social work in the United States can be said to have attained a satisfactory professional status.[27] It must be remembered that only approximately thirty per cent of the paid social workers in the United States are in the new National Association of Social Workers. Furthermore, of the estimated total of 74,240 social workers in the country in 1950, only sixteen per cent had had the benefit of a full two years of graduate study, and thirteen per cent had less than one year, and sixty per cent had no study at all in a graduate school of social work.[28] The character of the professional activities undertaken

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[26]Ernest V. Hollis and Alice L. Taylor, Social Work Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951) p. 422.

[27]Ibid.

[28]"Social Work as a Profession," Social Work Year Book, 1957, p. 556.

is the major set of criteria regarded by Hollis and Taylor as indicative of the profession's readiness to assume professional responsibilities. In this connection they point out the areas in which the least adequate job is being performed. These areas include research and experimentation to test, refine, and add to the body of professional knowledge and method, "and in developing and providing information about the profession to other professions, related disciplines and the public."[29]

Jeanette Regensburg.

In 1953 Jeanette Regensberg wrote concerning the essential components in professional education for social work.[30] One section of her paper was concerned with professional attributes and suggested the following: First, there should be active concern for the general welfare; and, second, the social worker must learn and put into practice ethical obligations which he must assume toward the individuals or groups he serves in his direct practice. The graduate student or new worker needs to acquire a perspective about what he individually, or in concert with his professional colleagues, is expected to achieve for the general public. The young worker should enter employment in the field of social work with a sense of obligation to contribute to his agency and his community

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[29]Hollis and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

[30]Jeanette Regensburg, "Professional Attributes, Knowledge and Skills in Practice: Educational Priorities," Social Work Journal, XXXIV (April, 1953), 51-53.

whatever he can at the various stages of professional development. There should be good professional experience and good supervision, but these should be balanced by the sense of obligation to give as well as to receive.[31] Third is the matter of self-identification and image. The worker needs to have a clear image before him as to what his profession is and a profound respect for it before he can competently work with representatives of allied professions. "One might add also that a firm self-identification protects the social worker from attempting to make over in his image persons whose professional image should be different."[32] The fourth professional attribute is the social worker's capacity to relate information and knowledge, regardless of how it is obtained, to his professional methods and practice. There is need to conceptualize and to particularize. Regensburg said, "This is somewhat like saying educators should teach students to think, but this business of seeing relatedness, of extracting meaning and putting it to work does seem to be one of the fundamental features of professional activity."[33] This author suggested that we make two classes of errors: "one is not to recognize the forest for the trees; the other is not to recognize that trees grow in forests."[34] In this manner, social workers

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

may possess conceptual knowledge which is not put to use, or may fail to detect conceptual knowledge which lies dormant in the case records. Regensburg felt that these attributes of the profession along with knowledge and skills should be educational priorities, and the consideration of these should be important for promoting improvements in the professional curricula.[35]

Arlien Johnson.

Arlien Johnson in 1955 observed that each year shows new evidence that social work is achieving those hallmarks by which professions are identified and that great progress has been made in the past decade.[36] She briefly reviews the present status of social work in the light of the Carr-Saunders criteria.

First, the development of a body of knowledge upon which skills rest is in the making in social work. This has been revealed in the 1952 policy statement on curriculum and by the continuous activity of the professional associations in the study of practice. In the 1930's social work began to free itself from the domination of sociology, and now that the beginning core of knowledge has been identified, the profession is strong enough to turn to the social sciences and to take from them

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Arlien Johnson, "Development of Basic Methods of Social Work Practice and Education," Social Work Journal, XXXVI (July, 1955), 114.

what it most needs. Interest in scientific research in the field of social work adds to the building of a body of knowledge and skills for social work.

The second criterion, the development of integrity and a professional consciousness among practitioners has made significant advance with the adoption of a code of ethics and the merging of the seven professional associations into one unified association--the National Association of Social Workers. Also, the organization of all interests in the Council of Social Work Education and the manner in which this has been accomplished over a period of years is another indication of growth in maturity of the social work profession.

The logical next step in the growth of a profession would be the reservation of the function to the qualified personnel through the licensing of social workers. The need of the public for a service encourages its development, results eventually in a special competence of practice to those who meet certain tests imposed by the professional association and the state.[37] This development in social work has been delayed because of the overwhelming shortage in personnel. However, it is of interest to note that California has had ten years of experience with voluntary registration of social workers, authorized by the state legislature, and Puerto Rico has had a restrictive licensing law since 1932; and that social workers in eleven states have had study committees,

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[37] Ibid., p. 114.

voluntary registration plans under the state conferences of social work, or have introduced regulatory legislation without success.[38]

The final criterion, that a profession shall serve social needs, is one which social work meets by long tradition and by recent activity. Recently the American Association of Social Workers has maintained a representative in Washington to work with various groups and legislators on problems of public policy on which the Association has taken action. Carr-Saunders and Wilson have pointed out that a profession can make its contributions to public policy best through participation in matters about which its practitioners alone can contribute technical knowledge or in areas where they present documented material that has been derived from prolonged and serious study; but they do not intervene in broad issues of public policy in which the public must make ethical choices.[39]

It seems to be the general consensus that social work has, on the whole, made remarkable progress toward becoming a profession since the American Association of Social Workers was organized in 1921. The past twenty-five years have seen the differentiation of function in practice, the growth of new skills, the diversity that must exist before there can be

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[38]Frances Goodall and Bertram M. Beck, "Legal Regulation of Social Work," a paper presented at a combined Associate Group Meeting held in connection with the National Conference of Social Work, May 3, 1958.

[39]A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933) pp. 486-487.

growth and synthesis. Arlien Johnson predicts that if the same devoted and determined spirit that has been found in the practitioners of the past twenty-five years carries forward for the next twenty-five as consolidation and unification develop, social work will deserve recognition as a full-fledged profession.[40]

Through the years numerous authorities in the field of social work, Flexner, Pray, Brown, Hollis and Taylor, Regensburg, Johnson as well as Jane Addams, Frank Bruno, Nathan E. Cohen and many others have made literary contributions on the subject of social work as a profession. Because of the extent of repetition and overlapping in the reports, it is felt that an inclusive review of all these contributions would not add to the general analysis.

In the past forty years the professional spirit to which Flexner referred in his 1915 treatment of the profession has been unfolding. The authors mentioned above and others have referred to the unfolding spirit as they have recorded the process of an occupation that "is becoming" or in the making. The "coming of age" seemed to have been reached when in 1957 Greenwood in his article, "The Attributes of a Profession," declared that social work is already a profession.[41]

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[40]Johnson, op. cit., p. 114.

[41]Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, II (July, 1957), 45-55.

Sociological Approach to Professionalization in Social Work

Professionalization of any occupation involves several characteristic processes. Some of these processes are common to all occupations that have reached the peak of professionalism as well as to other occupations striving to achieve such status in the occupational structure. There appears to be a general acknowledgement of the importance of the functions performed by professionals, but there is less certainty as to the particular pattern of characteristics that set professions apart from other types of vocational activities. The degree of professionalization cannot be determined by any single criterion, but rather by several or all of the processes enumerated by authorities. No single occupation in its growth and transformation into a profession will be in reality like the model of the ideal type created by the application of the processes set up as attributes of a profession.

> The sociological approach to professionalism is one that views a profession as an organized group which is interacting with the society which forms its matrix, which performs its social functions through a network of formal and informal relationships, and which creates its own subculture requiring adjustments to it as a prerequisite for a career.[42]

Greenwood asked the question: What is the sociological approach to social work? His answer was:

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[42]Oswald Hall, "The Stages of Medical Careers," American Journal of Sociology, LIII (March, 1948), 327-336.

> It is one which regards social work as an institutional complex produced within a social matrix with which it is in constant interaction; and which sees social workers as an organized group who occupy status in a stratified society and who have created a sub-culture of their own.[43]

The United States Census Bureau includes among others, the following classifications within the professional category: accountant, architect, artist, attorney, clergyman, college professor, dentist, engineer, journalist, judge, librarian, natural scientist, pharmacist, physician, social scientist, social worker, surgeon, and teacher.[44] The question is what common attributes do these professional occupations possess which distinguish them from the non-professional ones. These attributes are discussed below; but first some recognition must be made of the fact that true differences between a professional and non-professional occupation are not qualitative ones, but quantitative ones. The elements considered to be professional attributes are not the exclusive monopoly of the profession. Some non-professional occupations also possess them, but in a lesser degree. The phenomenon of professionalism cannot be structured in clear-cut classes. Instead,

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[43] Ernest Greenwood, Toward a Sociology of Social Work, Special Report No. 37, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, November, 1953.

[44] United States Bureau of the Census, 1950. Census of the Population: Classified Index of Occupations and Industries (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1950).

occupations in a society are thought of as distributed along a continuum.[45] At one end of the continuum are grouped the well-recognized and undisputed professions (e.g. physician, attorney, professor, minister); at the opposite end are bunched the least skilled and least attractive occupations (e.g. watchman, ditchdigger, farm laborer, bus boy, scrubwoman). Distributed in between these two poles are the marginal and middle range occupations. The occupations concentrated at the professional pole of the continuum possess a maximum degree of the professional attributes, and they will be described below. In the less developed professions (some authorities place social work here) these professional attributes appear in moderate degree. When the midsection of the continuum is reached, where we find clerical, sales and crafts occupations, the professional attributes appear in still lesser degree. At the unskilled pole of the continuum, the occupations possess only in a minimal way these attributes, if at all.[46] With this type of analysis the question, then, is not only whether the occupation is a profession, but concern is more upon what degree of professionalization has been reached by the occupation.

Professionalization of any occupation, then, involves several characteristic processes. Wilensky and LeBeaux have summarized

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[45]Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, p. 46.

[46]Ibid.

these processes as follows.[47]

The growth of professions has accompanied industrialization everywhere, but in America the process has perhaps proceeded farther than in most other countries. The professionalization of social work is, therefore, one of the most important developments in American social welfare. Professionalization means (1) that efforts will be made by the professional group to control the type and standard of work done in its particular area of service; (2) that practitioner-client relationships will assume new forms; (3) that decisions about the proper methods of practice will tend to be delegated by the larger society to the organized professional organization and the professional schools; (4) that the profession will assume a certain status in the hierarchy of professions, influenced by and influencing popular stereotypes of the profession and economic returns to the practitioners; (5) that certain ethical obligations will be self-imposed by the practitioner group; that the jurisdictional disputes over areas of competence with related professions will arise.[48]

Caplow.

Caplow, in his Sociology of Work, has pointed out that the steps involved in professionalization are quite definite, and even the sequence

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[47] Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. LeBeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950), p. 283.

[48] Ibid.

is explicit. He feels that this criterion applies equally well to all occupations and that the motives conducive to professionalization are so powerful that they may be observed in many commercial occupations, management, philanthropy and research sciences, and occupations which never involve independent work.[49]

"The first step is the establishment of a professional association, with definite membership criteria designed to keep out the unqualified."[50]

"The second step is the change of name, which serves the multiple function of reducing identification with the previous occupational status, asserting a technological monopoly, and providing a title which can be monopolized."[51]

To continue with Caplow's criteria, "the third step is the development and promulgation of a code of ethics which asserts the social utility of the occupation, sets up public welfare rationale, and develops rules which serve as further criteria to eliminate the unqualified and unscrupulous."[52]

Finally, in Caplow's criteria "the fourth step is a prolonged political agitation, whose objective it is to obtain the support of

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[49]Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 139.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.

the public power for the maintenance of the new occupational barriers. In practice this usually proceeds by stages from the limitation of a specialized title to those who have passed an examination to the final stage at which the mere doing of the acts reserved to the profession is a crime."[53]

Concurrently with this activity, which may cover quite an expanse of time, goes the development of training facilities in formal and informal situations. These training and educational facilities are controlled directly or indirectly by the professional society. At the same time, there is the establishment through legal action of certain privileges and responsibilities, the elaboration of rules of behavior founded in the code and the establishment of working relations with related professional groups.

The most recent and perhaps the most adequate treatment of the subject of professionalization in social work is to be found in the contributions of Ernest Greenwood and his sociological approach to social work.

Ernest Greenwood.

After a careful canvass of the sociological literature, Greenwood was able to distill five elements, upon which there appears to be a consensus among the students of the subject, as constituting and distinguishing attributes of a profession.[54] All professions seem to possess:

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[53] Ibid.

[54] Greenwood, op. cit. "Attributes of a Profession," pp. 45-55.

(1) systematic theory (2) authority (3) community sanction (4) ethical codes, and (5) a culture. These attributes of a profession constitute the ideal type and perhaps the exaggeration of reality. One function of the ideal type is to structure reality in such manner that discrete, disparate, and dissimilar phenomena become organized. We now possess a model of a profession that is much sharper and clearer than the actuality that confronts us when we observe the occupational scene. What is the utility of this model for social work?

The preoccupation of social workers with professionalization has been a characteristic feature of the social work scene for years as is indicated by some of the works mentioned above. Whenever social workers get together, there is the constant reaffirmation of the urgency to achieve the recognition from the community befitting a profession. The union of the seven separate organizations into the National Association of Social Workers is generally regarded as an important milestone in social work history. This act is certainly a move toward professionalization. The following quotation from Greenwood is his answer to the question posed in the last sentence of the last paragraph:

> .....it is proper for social workers to possess clear conceptions of that which they so fervently seek. The model of the professions portrayed above should contribute to such clarification; it should illuminate the goal for which social workers are striving. It is often contended that social work is still far from having attained professional status. But this is a misconception. When we hold up social work against the model of professions presented above, it does not take long to decide whether to classify it within the professional or non-professional

> occupations. Social work is already a profession; it has too many points of congruence with the model to be classifiable otherwise. Social work is, however, seeking to rise within the professional hierarchy, so that it, too, might enjoy maximum prestige, authority, and monopoly which presently belong to a few top professions.[55]

Even if social work, as measured by Greenwood's criteria, is already a profession, this does not mean that all of the problems of professionalization have been solved. This model indicates that progressive professionalization will involve social workers in novel relationships with clients, colleagues, agency, community, and other professions. There will be many problems. Not all social workers are uniformly enthusiastic about the professionalization of social work. Herbert Bisno has given verbal expression to a prevailing fear that social workers might have to scuttle their social-action heritage as a price of achieving the public acceptance accorded a profession.[56] He suggests that the attainment of professional prestige, authority, and monopoly by social workers will undoubtedly carry disturbing implications for the social work philosophy. The anticipated developments have forced social workers to rethink and redefine the societal role of their profession.

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Herbert Bisno, "How Social Will Social Work Be?" Social Work, I (April, 1956), 12-18.

Summary

Social work as a field of services is ancient, but social work as a profession is relatively new. The concern with professionalization in social work began about the turn of the twentieth century. The friendly visitors became aware of the need for specialized training in order to be able to function more effectively with their clients. Training and education facilities were developed in response to this need. Thus, there was the beginning of graduate professional training for social workers in the United States. Specialized training is expensive, demands a great deal of time, and is exacting in knowledge and skills. Agencies recognized this new kind of paid social worker with specialized training. Still many untrained social workers were employed in the social welfare agencies and volunteers were considered a vital and necessary element in rendering of services.

From Flexner (1915) to Greenwood (1957) many attempts have been made to set up criteria by which the degree of professionalism in social work could be measured. In social work there has been a shift in emphasis from social work as a "cause" to social work as a "function," and today we see social work as more than a grown-up system of philanthropy.

The divergent views on the subject of professionalization in social work presented above disclose that Flexner considered that the social work of his day was not a profession; that Hollis and Taylor consider

the social work of today as still in its early adolescence; that Johnson regarded social work of this decade as a "full fledged" profession; and that Greenwood announces the maturity of social work when he says, "social work is already a profession."

The picture of the process of professionalization by Greenwood is an ideal type. In the construction of ideal types there is always some exaggeration of reality. One function of the ideal type is to structure reality in such a manner that discrete, disparate, and dissimilar phenomena become organized--a means of bringing order out of apparent disorder.[57]

The remaining chapters of Part II of this study will be an analysis of the professional status of social work based upon the examination of the attributes of a profession using the ideal type construct as proposed by Ernest Greenwood.

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[57]Greenwood, op. cit., "Attributes of a Profession," p. 54.

CHAPTER V

A SYSTEMATIC BODY OF THEORY

Introduction

It is usually agreed that the chief difference between a professional and a non-professional occupation concerns the element of superior skill. The performance of a professional service involves a series of unusually complicated operations. Skillful performances require lengthy training.[1] The models referred to in this connection are the performances of the surgeon and the research physicist. In this sense, however, some non-professional occupations in reality require a higher order of skill than many of the professional ones. Many occupations, for example, the cabinet maker, the diamond cutter, and the monument engraver involve more intricate operations than public relations, school teaching, social work, and nursing.[2] Therefore, to focus on skill per se as the distinguishing mark of a profession is to miss completely the core of their uniqueness.

According to Greenwood, the crucial distinction is that "the skills

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[1]Greenwood, op. cit., "The Attributes of a Profession," p. 46.

[2]Ibid.

that characterize a profession flow from and are supported by a fund of knowledge which has been organised into an internally consistent system, called a body of theory."[3] A profession's underlying body of theory is a system of abstract propositions which describe the matters comprising the focus of interest; and, therefore, it serves as a base on which the professional explains his operations in concrete situations. In the professions the acquisition of the professional skill requires a prior or simultaneous mastery of the theory supporting that skill.[4] "Therefore, the preparation for a profession involves considerable preoccupation with systematic theory, a feature almost absent in the training of the non-professional."[5] Books and other literary treatises are written on the theory of drama, theory of music, on legal theory, and social work theory, but no publications appear on the theory of bricklaying and of pipe-fitting. Therefore, practical experience and apprenticeship training are not enough for professional skill. This skill must be based upon theory and, therefore, preparation for the profession must be intellectual as well as practical.[6] Flexner in his criteria of a profession gave an important position to the first two elements which stated that professions are intellectual and learned. (See Chapter IV, page 85).

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

Flexner also stressed the fact that professions are practical and the professional man must have an absolutely definite and practical objective. The development of a body of knowledge upon which skills rest is in the making in social work. This has been revealed in the 1952 policy statement on curriculum and by the continuous activity of the professional associations in the study of practice.[7] Now the beginning core of knowledge in social work has been identified, but the profession draws heavily upon the knowledge from the social sciences.[8]

Social Work Education

Orientation in theory can best be achieved through formal education in an academic setting. The professional schools, which almost always make their appearance in the setting and are affiliated with the university, are very much in contrast to the trade school where training is based more upon the operational procedures. Education for social work has as its basic objectives the preparation of qualified personnel for professional service in the field of social work.[9] "Professional social work practice rests upon a body of knowledge and skill, less clearly

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[7]Arlien Johnson, "Development of Basic Methods of Social Work Practice and Education," Social Work Journal, XXXVI (July, 1955), 114.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Katherine Kendall, "Education for Social Work," Social Work Year Book (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957), p. 217.

defined perhaps than that of some other professions but nevertheless identifiable and capable of communication."[10] Social work education attempts to identify and teach principles rather than procedures and simple routine skills. It aims to develop in students the capacity to think independently and analytically, to apply and test theoretical knowledge in practice, and to contribute to the advancement of the profession.[11] Social work education aims to provide an opportunity for the acquisition of new ways of thinking, feeling, and doing that develop a professional self-discipline.

The purposes, content, and method of social work education have been subjected to study both within and from without the profession. There are three significant events in recent years which reflect the character of social work education, which in less than sixty years has progressed from apprenticeship training under agency auspices to graduate professional education within universities. First, was the publication of a comprehensive report, Social Work Education in the United States, which offered an opportunity for intensive and extensive discussion of basic issues in social work education; second, the adoption by the graduate schools in May, 1952, of a new curriculum policy statement which reflected the acceptance of a new approach to curriculum building and stimulated integration in educational programs; and third,

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

the establisment on July 1, 1952, of the Council of Social Work Education, which provided a new organizational instrument for profession-wide cooperation in the area of social work education.[12] Each of these developments will be discussed briefly.

Hollis-Taylor--Social Work Education in the United States.

Perhaps no single study has exercised as much influence on social work education as did the one referred to as the Hollis-Taylor report.[13] Among the recommendations of the 1951 study were the following: (1) that social work education be seen as the responsibility of the total profession and that the undergraduate liberal arts college, the graduate professional school, and the field of practice each assume a distinctive, but related part of the educational function; (2) that education be conceived of as a continuous progression from two years of undergraduate study through two years of graduate study so that the professional education will have a better foundation; and (3) that a systematic study of social work theory and practice be undertaken in order to discover which of the positions generally designated as social work should be professional, semi-professional or non-professional.[14] The very great need for personnel in the public social services has led some educational leaders to advocate

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Hollis-Taylor, op. cit.

[14] Ibid.

strongly that undergraduates be given a certain amount of technical education which might be recognized by civil service commissions and employing agencies.[15] The implications of this report bear out the idea that first training and then education are parts of practice in any profession; and that social work education in the United States has been influenced by social welfare agencies, the professional associations, and the schools of social work. Even though the social work profession has accepted the principles set forth by the Hollis-Taylor Report--that education for the professional responsibility as a social worker consists of an orderly progression from the final two years of undergraduate work through two years of graduate study--the principle has not yet been established in educational practice. Because of the activities of the curriculum study of the Council on Social Work Education, some progress will be made soon to determine the kind of educational experience in the undergraduate years that will constitute necessary preparation for professional study. Also, it is likely that some consideration will be given to undergraduate preparation for sub-professional positions in social work. The two year curriculum study of social work education at all levels has just been finished, but it is unfortunate for this study that the report of these findings has not yet been released.

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[15]See for example, Fidele F. Fauri, "The Shortage of Social Workers; A Challenge to Social Work Education," Social Work Journal, XXXVI (April, 1955), p. 51.

Objectives of the undergraduate education, related to social work, have been formulated by the Council on Social Work Education and stated as follows:

1. To prepare graduates for advanced professional education

2. To include education in social welfare for students going into immediate employment with social agencies, which require only a bachelor's degree for entrance into employment, and

3. To include social welfare educational content in the liberal education for citizenship.[16]

The Council on Social Work Education offers guidance and direction to undergraduate departments through constituent membership in the Council. Among the Council's requirements for admission to constituent membership for undergraduate departments administering undergraduate education for social welfare, the following standards are set forth:

A. A well-defined and integrated curriculum, extending over at least two years, designed to include social welfare content as a part of a general educational program available to all students, and should embrace the three objectives listed above.

B. The curriculum should be based on a foundation in general liberal arts education and should include a concentration in the social sciences and other subjects relevant to social welfare. The concentration

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[16] Council on Social Work Education. A pamphlet containing a statement regarding membership of undergraduate colleges and universities in the Council on Social Work Education.

> should include a sequence of courses in the junior and senior years which involve a core of ten semester hours in social welfare content.[17]

It may appear that little progress has been made and even less agreement established in the area of undergraduate social work education. However, this is not due to lack of early interest and concern. The development of this interest may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. 1935 -- appointment of the first committee on pre-professional social work by the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

2. 1942 -- the organization of the National Association of Schools of Social Work.

3. 1946 -- establishment of the National Council on Social Work Education.

4. 1948 -- appointment of a full-time consultant on pre-professional social work to serve as part of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

5. 1951 -- Hollis-Taylor report on Social Work Education in the United States.

6. 1952 -- curriculum policy statement.

Threads of interest and concern, some originating earlier than 1935 in the form of isolated courses offered by some colleges and universities, can be traced through the activities of the committees and

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[17] Ibid.

groups mentioned above.[18]

But, state and local social work organizations and universities and schools have made little use of the resources available at the national level. Meanwhile, graduate schools operate on the assumption set forth in the 1952 curriculum policy statement, that the social work student should bring to professional study a broad liberal arts background which should include some concentration in the social and biological sciences. Many authorities in the field of social work predict that the recommendations stemming from the most recent curriculum study of the last two years will have a profound influence upon undergraduate education in the field. Many educators at the undergraduate level hopefully look forward to this report with the anticipation that a curriculum policy statement more concrete and functional for the undergraduate college and university than the 1952 statement will be forthcoming.

The 1952 Curriculum Statement.

As the most recent curriculum report has not yet been released, the graduate schools now offer programs based primarily on the 1952 policy statement. However, this was not the first curriculum policy to be established in social work. From the very beginning, schools of social work training emphasized methods--that is, "how-to-do" the jobs

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[18]Reba Bucklew, unpublished paper given at the annual meeting of the Texas Social Welfare Association, Fort Worth, Texas, 1949. "Education in Pre-professional Social Work."

which social workers were called upon to do in the various agencies. However, as early as 1919 when the schools came together to form their association, they recognized the need for theory and practice.[19] Therefore, they limited membership only to schools which offered both class and field instruction. However, it was not until 1930-31 that a curriculum committee was appointed and assigned the task of identifying the body of knowledge which should be given by all schools which proposed to train social workers. In 1932 a minimum curriculum was adopted and stood as the measuring stick for the eligibility of schools for membership in the association. This committee isolated thirteen subjects as essential; and from the thirteen, only certain subjects would be required for all students. Other subjects were classified by groups. Field work was required and no student could escape the "core" area consisting of casework, medical information, and psychiatric information.[20] This minimum policy stood until 1944 when a new curriculum was adopted by the member schools of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. This policy has been known as the "Basic Eight," and it outlined eight subject-matter areas which were prescribed as the generic foundation for all professional practice. The subjects included in the basic eight were social casework, social group work,

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[19]Katherine Kendall, op. cit., p. 224.

[20]Ibid.

community organization, public welfare, social administration, social research, medical information, and psychiatric information. The result of this policy was that a measure of similarity so badly needed in social work education was achieved, but certain dangers of compartmentalization and fragmentary learning along with a stereotyped pattern of curriculum were apparent. Because of the dissatisfactions with this policy and new needs recognized by some educators, the Association decided to restudy its curriculum.

In 1952 the graduate schools of social work adopted a new statement of curriculum policy which was directed toward a generic two-year program of professional education for social work. The essential unity of the two-year curriculum was emphasized with the first year devoted to the acquisition of beginning knowledge and skill in certain stated areas, and the second year providing for extension of knowledge and the further development of skill in the same learning areas.[21] At this time, the requirements of a two-year program for accreditation were adopted by the Council on Social Work Education and incorporated into its Manual of Accrediting Standards.

The social work curriculum, as derived by this policy, is expected to include three broad areas of learning: (1) the social sciences, (2) human growth and behavior, and (3) social work practice. The first area of learning pertains to knowledge and understanding of the social

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[21] Ibid.

sciences. In the area the student is helped to develop a social philosophy compatible with the objectives and practice of the social work profession and is expected to contribute toward a better understanding of the social order and the significant role of the worker in the formation of social policy. Social work in its early stages of development was firmly rooted in the social sciences; but as social work became more aware of its role as a helping profession, it turned more to the psychological sciences, especially psychiatry, for new knowledge and insight. However, at the present there seems to be renewed interest in use of knowledge from the social sciences, especially cultural anthropology and sociology. This trend has resulted in several experiments involving the cooperation and collaboration of social scientists and social work educators. The appointment of social scientists to the faculty of a school of social work in order to introduce new knowledge from the social sciences into the social work curriculum is one illustration of the impact of this trend and the new emphasis on learning in the area of the social sciences.[22] A recent publication by the Council on Social Work Education is a very good example of the introduction of the sociological concepts of culture, social role, and status as related to social casework.[23] Also in social work there is new emphasis placed upon the preparation of students for future

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Council on Social Work Education, Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework (New York, n.d.).

leaders and social statesmanship. Policy formation in the social welfare field is a responsibility which should not be neglected, because social action is very vital to the social work practice and the development of the profession.

The subject area of human growth and behavior occupies a central position in the preparation of social workers in any field of social work. Professional educators from the beginning have recognized that content of this nature is essential; but in the past the curriculum in this area has included several more or less unrelated courses--the standard courses being medical information, psychiatric information, and psychopathology.[24] The 1952 policy statement called for a new approach to the organization of this content, with emphasis on presentation of synthesized knowledge about the whole person as a physiological-psychological-social organism. Content as well as method of presentation of this kind of material is in a formative stage; but special emphases are being placed on the indivisibility of physical, psychological, and social factors in health and disease as well as in normal and pathological development. At the same time, a new emphasis is being placed on group behavior. Social work education is dependent upon other disciplines for much of the content in this area of learning. There is a growing interest in the contributions that can be made by sociology and anthropology, but

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[24]Katherine Kendall, op. cit., p. 226.

there is caution and concern about the way in which these contributions are made. These materials from other disciplines must be related to the professional uses of social work, and it is the responsibility of the social work educators to integrate such into the social work curriculum.[25]

The subject area of social work practice was the third broad area of learning outlined by the 1952 curriculum policy. This curriculum area includes the professional methods of carrying out social work; that is, social casework, social group work, community organization in social work, administration in social work, and social work research.[26] The policy statement describes these methods as having certain common objectives, principles, and skills, as well as other unique elements which differentiate them from one another. Methods which are usually studied more intensively throughout the two years are social casework and group work. Something that was new with the 1952 curriculum policy has to do with the identification and communication, in the separate courses, of the elements of knowledge and skill which are common to all social work practice. The results of these experiments are not yet clear, but there is a definite trend on the part of the schools to educate social workers who see social work practice as a whole. Whether or not the emphasis upon the "generic" has been accepted by the practitioners already in the field is another question. The evolution from the first

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

minimum curriculum has been described in a dynamic manner by Katherine Kendall in the following summary:

> The 1952 "minimum curriculum" represented a compromise among competing courses and conflicting educational objectives, that is, vocational training versus professional education; the 1944 "basic eight" represented agreement upon the core of courses; and the 1952 statement represents agreement upon areas of knowledge and sequences that form a total two-year curriculum. Thus each marks an important stage in the development of social work education.[27]

The Council on Social Work Education.

The Council on Social Work Education was established in 1952 and has exerted a profound influence upon the development of social work theory and method because it represents the educational interests of the total profession. The Council is a structure which includes the American Association of Social Workers, the graduate schools of social work, undergraduate colleges and universities, employing social agencies, representatives of other disciplines and the interested public.

The activities of the Council are carried on through a Council of Delegates, a Board of Directors, four standing commissions, numerous committees, and a professional staff. There is a Council of Delegates with seventy-eight elected members made up of educators in the field of social work, representatives of the professional membership association, of national agencies, and the general education and the public.

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[27] Ibid.

The Board of Directors is composed of six officers and eight elected members from the Council of Delegates. The activities of the commissions are suggested by the titles of each: (1) accreditation (2) program, services and publications (3) schools and departments of social work, and (4) research. There are a number of special committees which give special attention to the following areas: admissions, the advanced curriculum, careers in social work, corrections, evaluation of students, group work, international social welfare, teaching materials, and specialization in social work.

The July, 1958, listing of the Council on Social Work Education shows sixty-one accredited schools in Canada and the United States.[28] The foreword of the publication states that the purpose of accrediting in social work is to ensure the establishment and maintenance of high standards of professional education. On the same date there were 105 undergraduate departments of colleges and universities listed as constituent members of the Council on Social Work Education.[29] These are colleges and universities offering some courses with social welfare content at the undergraduate level. It is not possible here to include a detailed account of the activities of the Council; but the Council is making vital contributions to the development of a systematic body of theory in

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[28]Official Listing of the Council on Social Work Education, July, 1958,.

[29]Ibid.

social work through its programs of accreditation, consultation, service, curriculum development, publications, program meetings and conferences, and international services. One of the most recent projects of the Council was assuming the responsibility for an extensive curriculum study. The findings of the Hollis-Taylor Report in 1952 raised several questions for the profession and professional preparation. There were some questions regarding the extent to which social work possesses a systematic body of knowledge, skills, and attitudes which were communicable in a system of professional education.[30] There were and are still many questions unanswered about the relationships between graduate professional study and undergraduate foundations for social work education. Questions such as these pointed to the need for further study of curriculum. The Council, aided by grants from foundations and national agencies, launched a three-year study of social work curriculum in October, 1955. This program had been conceived of as a study of depth rather than a survey of social work educational programs. The approach to the study was organized around three questions: (1) What are the desirable objectives of social work curriculum? (2) What content and educational experiences are needed? (3) What is the most effective organization of content and educational experience in terms of graduate and undergraduate levels of education, curriculum

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[30]Katherine Kendall, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

structure, and teaching methods?[31]

Advanced Curriculum in Social Work.

Another indication of the growing maturity of the social work profession is the extension of social work education beyond the level of the Master's degree. In July, 1958 thirteen of the graduate schools of social work offered advanced programs leading to a third-year certificate or doctoral degree. The purposes of the advanced study vary from school to school and to some degree depend upon the facilities of the university or college community. However, it is generally agreed that much of the advanced program, if not all of it, should be research-oriented and focused upon the formulation and testing of hypotheses, the assimilation of transmissible knowledge and the broadening of professional perspective.[32] This level of study will produce administrators, supervisors, teachers, researchers and others who will take the lead in the future of social work.

According to Greenwood, "we can generalize that as an occupation moves toward professional status, apprenticeship training yields to formalized education, because the function of theory as a groundwork for practice acquires increasing importance."[33] This transformation

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[31] Ibid., p. 228.

[32] Ibid., pp. 227-228.

[33] Greenwood, op. cit., p. 47.

we have witnessed in social work.

Social Work Research

Research in Social Work.

"The importance of theory percipitates a form of activity normally not encountered in the non-professional occupation and that is theory construction via systematic research."[34] The application of the scientific methods to the service-related problems of the profession is necessary to generate valid theory. Rationality is fostered by the continuous application of the scientific method; and, therefore, a critical attitude toward the theoretical system is encouraged. This implies a perpetual readiness to discard any portion of that system with a formulation demonstrated to be more valid. "The spirit of rationality creates group self-criticism and theoretical controversy. Professional members come together regularly in their associations to learn and to evaluate innovations in theory."[35]

Research may be defined as systematic investigation intended to add to the common store of communicable, verifiable knowledge.[36] The problems for research in social work are difficult to distinguish and

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[36] Mary E. MacDonald, "Research in Social Work," Social Work Year Book (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957) pp. 489-490.

depend upon the changing interest in the field. Research in social work is not always sharply set off from research in other fields such as public health, social insurance, recreation and other forms of social welfare. Research in social work is not always clearly distinguished from research in other "helping professions" and in the social sciences. However, the primary, but not exclusive, areas of inquiry in social work research are those questions involving social work practice or in planning and administering social work practices, which can be solved by research, and which are appropriate under social work auspices. The goal of research is to contribute to knowledge; and the knowledge of social work is drawn from many sources--from the biological and social sciences, from the research and accumulated experience of other problems, from accumulated experience and research in social work itself.[37] It seems to be general consensus that the potential contribution of research in social work to the general knowledge of the field has not been realized. Much research effort has gone into studies intended more to obtain support for needed services than to other verifiable knowledge about the extent and nature of needs. However, some recent concern has been displayed in extending and validating theory through research because the profession has tended to appraise its knowledge more critically and social workers have observed gains made through

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[37] Ibid.

research in other fields.[38] One of the great needs in social work research is for better organization of effort. As Schwartz has pointed out, "because the problems to which most social work research is directed are both immediate and specific, the product tends to be particularistic and ephemeral. As a consequence, the bulk of social work research findings do not affect general social work knowledge or findings."[39] If studies directed to the immediate and specific were sound methodologically and were conducted along comparable lines and with reference to previous studies, their findings would have an accumulative quality and then provide a base for broader generalizations by other researchers.

The methods in social work research are not yet distinctive and are developed in a broader field of social research. However, some advances have recently been made in social work research, specifically in problem formulation, in study design, in the use of scales and measurements, and sampling and statistical analysis.

Several classifications of the type of research in social work have been suggested, but one which is often cited is that of Philip Klein.[40]

1. Studies to establish, identify, and measure the need for service.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Edward E. Schwartz, "Social Work Research," Social Work Year Book, 1951, p. 508.

[40] Philip Klein and Ida C. Meriam, The Contributions of Research to Social Work (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1948), p. 46.

2. Studies to measure the services offered as they relate to needs.

3. Studies to test, gauge, and evaluate results of social work education.

4. Studies to test the efficacy of specific techniques...of offering services.

5. Studies in methodology of research.

No single study necessarily has to be concentrated in any one type of study, but perhaps the two questions most likely to occur are: (1) what are the needs? and (2) how effective are the services? Another area in which some encouraging beginnings have been made is that of administrative research. The Bureau of Public Assistance has worked to apply quality control methods in public assistance administration and a recent time and cost study in Philadelphia represented primarily an attempt to develop methodology for this type of administrative study.[41]

Auspices and Support of Research.

The social agencies, welfare council and funds, national agencies, and the schools of social work sponsor research in social work; and support is closely related to the auspices of research. Individual voluntary and local public agencies seldom have the resources to undertake extensive research projects. However, they do engage in the study of

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[41] MacDonald, op. cit., p. 491.

their own case loads in order to answer specific and limited questions for administrative purposes. These studies are limited in that they are not generally available; and even if they were available, some question their value. Most agency research is not cumulative and structured, and this is a distinct handicap to research.[42] On occasion the individual agency does undertake significant research and is best illustrated by the agency-sponsored investigation in the various functional fields. The Institute of Welfare Research of the Community Service Society of New York and the Marriage Council of Philadelphia have engaged in research programs over the years.[43]

Direct service agencies have also contributed to research in the field in two important ways. First, these agencies maintain statistical systems comparable to other agencies in the field so that adequate statistical data are available for research use. The second contribution that direct-service agencies can make is to permit the research worker access to their operations. This kind of cooperation involves making existing records available for study. But, it may also involve some modification or production of special records for research purposes; and it may also require the modification of usual operations for research. As research in social work takes on greater significance and development, the service agencies may be called upon for these types of

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[42] Ibid., p. 492.

[43] Ibid.

cooperation.[44]

As research and fact finding constitute the basis of sound community organization, a substantial volume of data is used in the community planning of councils and chests. Usually research methods are used in obtaining these data, but how much research is done depends on how the research is defined. MacDonald says that this kind of fact-finding does not contribute to the general knowledge of the field of social work.[45] The research departments of the welfare councils are involved in collecting local data for the purposes of giving advisory and consultative services to local agencies. However, some local councils and chests are able to report a considerable number of special studies. These special studies are listed annually and the subjects vary with the changing interest in the field. At the present, there is an increasing number of studies dealing with the aged; but other representative subjects include group work, family service, child welfare and other special areas. The major purposes of studies conducted or sponsored by local chests and councils are to determine need for services, to measure existing services in relation to need, and to locate unmet needs.

The large scale type of project most often sponsored by the councils and chests is the community study.[46] Usually, the community

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[44] Ibid., p. 493.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

survey includes more than one functional field in social work and sometimes embraces the broad field of health and welfare services. Recently, there has been a shift toward the self-study techniques with the use of outside experts as consultants but with primary responsibility carried locally. Community surveys involve research, but their goals are often more community organization than that of obtaining reliable information.

National agencies have been instrumental in encouraging and supporting research in social work. A wide scatter of research programs is carried on by the following national agencies: (1) the Department of Research and Statistics of the United Community Funds and Councils of America; (2) United States Children's Bureau; (3) Child Welfare League of America; (4) American Public Welfare Association; (5) Community Research Associates; and (6) the Bureau of Public Assistance of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Children's Bureau was established in 1912 to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life. The Bureau maintains a clearing house on all research concerned with children and has developed aids to research workers by the publication on methods for surveying need for day care and similar projects.[47]

The Bureau of Public Assistance of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare maintains statistical reporting systems for various types of assistance; and it offers consultation to

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[47] Ibid., p. 494.

the states on special studies and endeavors to coordinate studies concerning services, assistance payments, expenditures by funds, and other administrative data. In cooperation with the states, the Bureau makes many special studies and descriptive studies of social, economic, and medical characteristics of the clients.

Schools of Social Work.

The schools of social work offer a good source of research in social work in the form of individual and group master's theses. Many of these studies have been used at the local level, but seldom ever do they find their way into the main body of social work knowledge. These studies are listed and are available through inter-library loan service, but few are ever published. At this time both the United States Public Health Service and the Council on Social Work Education are searching for ways to encourage student research on questions of broad interest.[48] Several of the schools of social work have conducted group projects which are broader and more substantial in their scope of contribution to research. The doctoral program in social work is of recent origin and tends to be limited by not being related to a continuing line of investigation.

Faculty members of the schools have contributed substantially to social work in their direction of student research, and their advice and consultation in research projects are often sought. Faculties of schools

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[48] Ibid., p. 495.

of social work have contributed in other ways: (1) by writing on methodological questions, and (2) by scholarly and theoretical writings that do not involve original research but that contribute to the synthesis of knowledge.[49] The schools have been active in the research on the history of social work.

The development of research centers in the schools of social work has been a very important addition to research in social work. The first was established by the University of Chicago in 1953 where the Research Center is carrying out a long-range program of research in social casework. Another Research Center was opened at the New York School of Social Work in 1956. The University of Toronto School of Social Work makes grants to individual scholars from the Cassidy Memorial Research Fund.[50] The establishment of research centers in the schools of social work offers great promise for the training of career research workers.

To coordinate the research activities in social work is a real task for the profession of social work. A movement toward a synthesis in social work research is visioned for the future which will be furthered by the schools of social work with their training facilities in research and student research projects, the social agencies with their contribution

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Nathan E. Cohen, "A Changing Profession in a Changing World," Social Work, I (October, 1956), 17.

of raw materials, the welfare councils with their fact-finding facilities, and the expansion of the research activities of national agencies.

One of the real problems of research in social work is the balance in the focus of research. Cohen expressed some concern in this area when he said "that one concern we have is that a study of practice has not preceded the present study of curriculum."[51] This author continues by stating that "although we want to avoid training for a specific function and train for continued growth and leadership, it is essential to know more about the various functions of the social worker."[52] Mr. Cohen poses several serious questions which have some bearing upon practice, research, and the body of knowledge so essential to sound theory. These questions are (1) Do all social work functions call for two years of training or do some call for less and others for none? (2) Is it possible within a two-year program of social work education to prepare a worker for all potential functions or should there be envisaged continued schooling as one moves up the scale of responsibility? To adequately answer these and related questions, a thorough examination of social work practice as well as social work curriculum is indicated.

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

Summary

Though less defined than some of the traditional professions, social work has developed a systematic body of theory. The body of knowledge in social work has taken on internal organization through research-oriented studies of practice and educational curriculum. Social work education has moved beyond the level of apprenticeship training, and has now reached the professional level of education which is offered as graduate training and is almost always affiliated with colleges and universities. Curricula of graduate schools of social work have been standardized by means of the accreditation process--a function of the Council on Social Work Education since 1952. The Council, through its organization and membership has moved toward a synthesis in the field as it brings together representatives of social work practice, social work educators, general education and the public. Its activities, which range from consultation to accreditation, are concerned with the functions, structure, and administration of social work. One of its main purposes is to define the duties of the social worker and to promote the most effective preparation of social workers for social work practice.

Research, which is recognized as the systematic investigation intended to add to the common store of communicable and verifiable knowledge, has not as yet taken on a distinguishing pattern in social work; and it leans heavily upon related fields, especially the social

sciences. Research of an extensive nature basic to general theory is weak, but research in small specific areas is more prolific. The general area of theory concerned with the history of social work has been more often adequately covered by some of the outstanding educators in the field of social work. The establishment of research centers at the graduate schools of social work, the increased support of funds, foundations and national agencies disclose an impressive, even though not adequately coordinated, array of research activities in the field of social work.

Greenwood stated the "spirit of rationality in a profession encourages a critical, as opposed to a reverential, attitude toward the theoretical system."[53] It implies a perpetual readiness to discard any portion of that system, no matter how time-honored, with a formulation demonstrated to be more valid. "This spirit of rationality generates group self-criticism and theoretical controversy."[54] The rather constant re-examination in some areas of social work (especially the educational curriculum) suggests that there is a move from the traditional to the rational in the body of social work knowledge and that a systematic body of theory is evolving from within the profession.

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[53]Greenwood, op. cit., p. 47.

[54]Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY

Introduction

A profession is endowed with authority because of the competence and skill it has developed through the extensive education in the systematic theory of the profession. The professional possesses a type of knowledge that accentuates the comparative lack of such on the part of the layman. There are two types of professional authority: (1) professional authority which expresses itself in the client-professional relationship and (2) a professional monopoly granted by the community.[1]

Client-Professional Relationship

"A non-professional occupation has customers; a professional occupation has clients."[2] What is the difference in clients and customers? A customer decides what commodities he wants and then he can shop around until he finds what he wants. He is free to determine what he wants, and his decision in the end rests upon his own capacity to appraise his own needs and to judge the quality of the commodity to meet

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[1]Greenwood, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

[2]Ibid.

his needs. In the customer's opinion "he is always right."[3] In the professional relationship, however, the professional determines and dictates what is good or damaging for the client who has no choice and must submit to the professional judgment. The theoretical premise in this situation is that the client, because he lacks the theoretical background, is not able to diagnose his own needs and cannot discriminate among the range of possibilities available for meeting such needs. It is also assumed that the client is not capable of evaluating the caliber of the professional service he received.[4] The customer can criticize the quality of the commodity he has purchased; and if he is not satisfied, he can demand a refund or adjustment. The client lacks any such claim, as he has surrendered it to professional authority. This characteristic of authority is one of the reasons why a profession frowns on advertising.[5] "If the profession were to advertise, it would, in effect, impute to the potential client the discriminating capacity to select from competing forms of service. In this sense, however, advertising should not be confused with publicity, interpretation, and public relations."[6] These activities are considered by some as very vital and necessary in

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] See Gertrude Binder in "Publicize, Interpret or Relate?" in Social Work, I (July, 1956) for further discussion on the meaning of these activities in the field of social work.

bringing social work before the public. Binder concludes her article with the following:

> Building good public relations is a responsibility of administration and an integral part of social work itself. The way to strengthen the public relations of agencies is to strengthen in administrators awareness that responsibility to the public and to society is a part of their job. This responsibility includes reporting and informing all those affected by the agency's actions.
>
> Interpretation is an unfortunate word which seems to have entered social work language because of false modesty and a reluctance on the part of social workers to say that they wished people to know about what they were doing. Publicity is a more honest and understandable word. We should recognize that we want publicity and intensify our efforts to publicize as honestly, effectively, and widely as possible, our profession and our agencies, what we stand for, and what we are trying to do.[7]

However, advertising in the competitive manner suggesting that one social agency has services to offer which are superior to those of another agency is not considered professional.

The client's subordination to professional authority invests the worker with a kind of monopoly of judgment. Any occupation striving for professionalization has as one of its aspirations the acquisition of this monopoly.[8] According to Greenwood the client derives a sense of security from the professional's assumption of authority. This authoritative air, sometimes almost mysterious in its manifestations, is the source

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[7] Ibid., p. 31.

[8] Greenwood, op. cit., p. 48.

of the client's faith that the professional will be able to meet his needs.[9]

There are limits to the professional authority in the client-worker relationship. The authority of any professional is restricted to these specific areas of competence within which the professional has been educated.[10] Parsons has referred to this quality of the professional authority as "functional specificity." Parsons says:

> This professional authority has a peculiar sociological structure. It is not as such based on a generally superior status, as the authority a southern white man tends to assume over any Negro, nor is it a manifestation of superior "wisdom" in general or of higher moral character. It is rather based on the superior "technical competence" of the professional man. He often exercises his authority over people who are, or are reported to be, his superiors in social status, in intellectual attainments or in moral character. This is possible because the area of professional authority is limited to a particular technically defined sphere. It is only in matters touching health that the doctor is by definition more competent than his lay patient, only in matters touching his academic specialty that the professor is superior by virtue of his status, to his student.....A professional man is held to be "an authority" only in his own field.[11]

Greenwood has interpreted "functional specificity" as involving the following characteristics:[12] (1) the professional cannot prescribe guides for facets of the client's life where his theoretical competence

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Parsons, op. cit., p. 189.

[12] Greenwood, op. cit., p. 48.

does not apply. To do this would be to invade a province wherein he himself is a layman and would violate the authority of another professional group; (2) the professional must not use his position of authority to exploit the client for purposes of personal gratification. In any association of superordination-subordination the client, who is the subordinate here, is in danger of being maneuvered into a dependent role. (3) "The professional must inhibit his impulses to use the professional relationship for the satisfaction of the need to manipulate others or the need to live vicariously." The professional and the client might make use of the extra-professional relationship in such a manner as to impair professional authority, and in this sense decrease the effectiveness of the professional.

Worker-Client Relationship in Social Work

Practice does not become professional work without the development of the "professional self." While there is variation between the professions in the nature of such a self, it tends to be oriented toward a similar set of norms--which are standards and guides to proper or expected conduct in the professional role.

Norms Related to Worker-Client Relationship.

There are four ideas about the ideal professional-client relationship which are especially well developed in the healing and helping professions. All of these center around the words impersonal, objective,

impartial, and selfless. Talcott Parsons suggests these four norms are especially strong in the medical profession, the current model for many less established professions, including social work.[13] Closely related to these four is another ideal--confidentiality, which is so basic to the establishment of "the relationship"--the primary therapeutic tool in social work.

The Impersonal Relationship: The rights and obligations covered by the relationship in social work should be clearly defined and delimited. Many of the problems of the social worker require extensive exploration of the client's personal life. The case worker must have access to many aspects of emotional and financial conditions of the client. The real problem of the social worker is knowing how to handle the intimacy and not become involved with the client in areas in which he is not competent. The real task is being able to define boundaries of participation both for the worker and the client. The profession deals with such problems by accenting the technical aspects of the situation and limiting the relationship to the specific and immediate problem. If personal information is sought, it is because the information is necessary in the performance of the technical task; and if rapport is to be established, it is for a purpose. The situation should be defined, not in terms of personal interest of the client, but in diagnostic and

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[13] Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. LeBeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958) pp. 297-308.

treatment terms. This impersonal relationship is very important to the practice of social work and is demonstrated in many ways. Inquiry into the client's life is legitimate, not just snooping. The worker as far as possible insists that the service be rendered in the office and not in the home of the client, and the contacts follow a strict schedule made by appointment. The social worker does not make friends with the client, and does not share his own personal life with the client. He does not entertain socially his clients in his home. The social worker is interested in giving an impersonal service to the client--a restricted and limited relationship.

Emotional Neutrality--Objectivity: The social worker probably hears the term "be objective" more than any other. What does this mean? In one definition of the social work profession it means that the social worker should be aware of and control emotional involvement with the client. The person who is willing to bring his problems to a social worker is one who is in trouble--the kind of trouble which is usually emotionally charged. The task of the social worker is to know how to reach the balance between objectivity and establishing a relationship or state of confidentiality. If he becomes emotionally involved he loses objectivity, his ability to see facts in a clear perspective, and in the end his power to help. But social workers are human beings and do, themselves, have emotions. The task of the social worker is to maintain a proper social distance with his client. This dilemma is

not strange in our culture, but it is of particular significance to the good practice of social work. Then we can say that "objectivity" takes its place along with "rapport" in the client-professional relationship.

Impartiality: The client and the professional worker are strangers, and each may have undesirable personal and social characteristics. The professional worker is not free to give or withhold his services on the basis of personal characteristics. In the professions the norm of impartiality is observed--the best possible service regardless of race, religion, politics, or personal traits of the client. This trait is so basic to social work that it has come to be considered a part of the philosophy of social work as well as part of the professional self.

Service: The norm of altruistic service is very basic to social work. It is perhaps more fundamental than any of the others mentioned above. Social workers are trained to keep personal and commercial interests subordinated to the client's need. The need of the client is the starting point in all social work practice. This ideal of service is more than just lip service. If the client, who is in trouble, believed that the social worker was interested only in making money, he would not be willing to enter a professional-client relationship. The social worker cannot guarantee results any more than the physician and lawyer even though they may be paid. But the professional is willing to submit himself to the service norm which does not guarantee results, but a devotion to the interests and cause of the client.[14]

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[14] Ibid.

Confidentiality: Though not always treated as a separate norm, confidentiality is sufficiently important to warrant some attention at this point. No effective relationship between practitioner and client can be established unless the client feels free to talk with the full assurance that what he is relating will be kept in confidence. Lacking this confidentiality, the development of a satisfactory relationship can be delayed for weeks and months, which means that only a partial diagnosis is made and effective treatment is hindered. Realization of the professional self cannot be attained by one who violates the ethics of the confidential relationship. This situation is sometimes complicated when the professional is working with two or more members of the same family or same primary group. But the extent to which any information is to be shared with others should be thoroughly understood by all involved in the situation.

The following quotation from Wilensky and LeBeaux is a good summary of the professional self:

> All of these norms help to guide the professional in his relationships with the client. They define the situation for both client and practitioner; they protect both. Social work as a fledgling profession, along with all the other occupations in the process of professionalization, absorbs them from the existing culture of professionalism or discovers them afresh out of the necessities of its own practice.[15]

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[15] Ibid.

Professional Monopoly

The second type of authority which the profession seeks is that of community sanction. It strives to persuade the community to sanction its authority within specified areas by conferring upon the profession certain powers and privileges. The community approval of these powers and privileges may be either formal or informal; formal approval is that reinforced by the community's police power.[16]

Two very important powers exercised by a profession are: first, the control over its training centers, and second, the control over admission into the profession.

Control Over Training Centers.

The control of the training centers is usually achieved by an accrediting process exercised by one of the associations within the profession.[17] In the field of social work, this control over training centers through the process of accreditation was exercised by the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Social work education has used a process of accreditation since 1927 when the American Association of Schools of Social Work first established requirements for membership.[18] It was not, however, until 1932 that formal accrediting

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[16]Greenwood, op. cit., p. 48.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Kendall, op. cit., p. 219.

procedures were initiated. In this same period the American Association of Medical Social Workers and the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers were engaged in accrediting activities in relation to their special fields. During the years several associations including the American Association of Group Workers and the National Association of School Social Workers emerged. By 1951 the accrediting functions of these associations were all assumed by the American Association of Schools of Social Work, bringing into one organization the responsibility for accrediting general programs of professional education as well as the approval of specializations within these programs.[19] While there was merging of accrediting activities in professional education for social work, a new movement was introduced by the National Association of Schools of Social Administration for the purpose of accrediting a combination of undergraduate and graduate training for social work. At the present, the final and total responsibility of accreditation rests with the Council on Social Work Education. At the present there is agreement that only graduate professional curriculum should be accredited. The by-laws of the Council on Social Work Education have delegated this authority to the Commission on Accreditation, and its juriddiction includes the graduate professional schools in both the United States and Canada.[20]

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

The Commission on Accreditation works with the National Commission on Accrediting which represents seven national associations of colleges and universities with a membership of some 1,200 educational institutions. The commission has established a statement of general standards for accrediting schools of social work which have been adopted by the Council. In this connection the Commission on Accrediting has prepared a Manual of Accrediting Standards which states in detail the criteria and procedures used in evaluating professional programs of social work education and certain specialized sequences within those programs.[21]

One important recent concern of the Council on Social Work Education and its Commission on Accreditation is the relationship which should prevail between the accreditation of the total programs of social work education and certain specialized sequences within these programs. Historically the approval of specializations has been related to the development of specialized membership associations. These associations were interested primarily only in the establishment of standards for education and practice in the specific categories of activities. Now with the merging of the various specialized associations into one comprehensive professional organization--the National Association of Social Workers--there appears to be a new emphasis placed on the generic

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[21] Ibid.

educational base for all social work practice.[22] This unification of the practitioner groups will probably be accompanied by a parallel movement toward a common base in social work education. A Committee on Specializations in Social Work Education representing all of the specializations of social work and the field of practice in general analyzed this problem. In January, 1956 the Committee on Specialization reached some conclusions which led to a recommendation that "a school of social work be accredited for its basic generic curriculum and that there by no accrediting of any specialization by any definition."[23] The proposals of this committee may be summarized as follows:

> 1. That the statement on curriculum in the Manual of Accrediting Standards be redrafted to provide a more thorough formulation of the content and nature of the basic curriculum as a means of providing essential preparation for professional service in the various fields of practice.
>
> 2. That the Council on Social Work Education assume responsibility through use of appropriate groups representing practice and education and the curriculum study, for preparation and maintenance of guides with respect to curriculum content emerging from the various fields of practice. The guides will have the purpose of identifying curriculum content from fields of practice to be considered as basic content for all social workers, as well as content for enrichment of a school's curriculum in relation to a particular field of practice.
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> 3. That the Commission on Accreditation devise systematic procedures for the implementation of an already established

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[22] Ibid.

[23] "Social Work Education," Council on Social Work Education, February, 1956, p. 2.

> standing policy for periodic reviews of all accredited schools.
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> 4. That a directory be published annually by the Council to inform the field and the public of the educational resources in the accredited schools. The directory would include identifying information on the school, together with its designation of the process specializations it offers and the fields of practice represented in its field instruction program.[24]

Ideally, by granting or withholding accreditation, a profession can regulate its schools as to number, location, curriculum content and quality of instruction. This type of control is not usually found in non-professional occupations.

Control Over Admission into the Profession.

The profession also acquires power by gaining control over admission.[25] There are two ways in which this is done. First, the profession convinces the community that no one should be allowed to bear a professional title who has not been conferred it by an accredited professional school. Most anyone can call himself a carpenter or a cabinet maker if he feels so qualified, but the physician and lawyer cannot assume these titles unless he has earned them in the conventional manner of professional training. In social work, there is still confusion in this area of professionalization. It is generally understood that the

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[24]Katherine Kendall, op. cit., p. 221.

[25]Greenwood, op. cit., p. 49.

so-called "professional social worker" is one who holds the graduate degree from a professional school of social work. At the same time, there are many persons now holding professional positions who do not meet these requirements. Some of these social workers are the professionals who entered the field when the apprenticeship type of training was regarded as adequate and who through long years of service have acquired real professional knowledge and skills. Others in social work practice who do not have professional graduate training are people who perform welfare services for which technical and specialized training in social work is not at this time required. The public welfare worker, the group workers, the probation officer are often in this position. Under the voluntary certification in social work, the "blanketing in" clause will probably bring these workers into official professional standing. However, the basic standard of the new plan of certification in social work is at least two years of professional graduate training.

The movement for certification in social work illustrates the second way in which a profession acquires control over admission into the profession. The profession must "persuade the state to institute in its behalf a licensing system for screening those qualified to practice the professional skill."[26] In order to be granted a license one must have a professional title based upon training and education. Another

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[26] Ibid.

prerequisite may be an examination before a board of inquiry of the profession's own members. In this case the police power enforces the licensing system, and persons practicing the professional skill without a license are liable to punishment by public authority.[27]

Social work has been granted community sanction in that the public has conferred upon the profession some powers: that of control of its training centers through accreditation and the recent definition of the professional worker by the National Association of Social Workers voluntary plan of certification. However, no public authority has been granted in the form of a licensing system enforced by police power. In Chapter IV there is a brief discussion of an early attempt at certification and registration. Within the field of social work, there is great variation in emphases ranging all the way from social work as a network of services to social work as a unique method and process. These variations make an argument on what constitutes the justifiable boundaries of social work. The difficulty of arriving at an acceptable definition and the imbalance between trained and untrained workers have profound influence upon the preparation of the type of legislation that would provide legal sanction to social work.[28]

The California law which was passed in 1945 provided a state regulatory agency for social workers within the Department of Professional

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

and Vocational Standards.[29] There are seven members of the Board of Social Work Examiners, appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. At least four of the seven members must be registered social workers with five years or more of professional experience in social work. Other requirements for the examiners include residence of at least three years preceding appointment, and they must have completed at least one full year of graduate study in an approved school of social work. At least two persons must be lay persons, and an executive secretary must be employed.[30] The duties of the Board of Social Work Examiners include processing applications, preparing and holding examinations, issuing certificates, and collecting fees. The Board is also concerned with problems of legislation, professional standards, relationship to professional organizations, preparation of examination items, recruitment, and research. Two examinations are given each year in January and June; and they are held in Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego and others when the number of candidates merits it.[31]

A social worker who applies for registration must have completed at least one year of full-time graduate study in an approved school of

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[29]R. E. Arne, R.S.W., "Protection of the Public Through Licensing of Social Workers," Social Work Journal XXXIII (October, 1952), 188-190.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

social work, and pass a written examination given by the Board. At the time Arne made his report, consideration was being given to raising the prerequisite for taking the examination to two years of professional training.

The Board has authority to fix the application and annual renewal fees within certain limits of the law. The application may range from $5.00 to $10.00 and the annual renewal fee may not be less than $3.00 or more than $8.00.

In 1947, the end of the "blanketing-in period," a total of 4,098 persons had received certificates.[32] A study of the applications of those who received certificates during the initial period shows that twenty-three per cent had completed one year or more of professional education in an approved school of social work. By 1952 more than fifty per cent of the registered social workers had completed one or more years of professional education in an approved school of social work.

In 1947, 18.7 per cent had taken graduate courses in social work but did not have as much as one year of training in social work; and by 1950 this number had risen to 26 per cent. In 1947 eight per cent of the registered social workers had Master's degrees in social work, and in 1950 this category had risen to 16.6 per cent. In 1952 Arne assumed that California had 6,000 social workers, two-thirds of whom were registered.

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[32] Ibid.

"Of those not registered the majority were public welfare workers who cannot qualify for the Registered Social Worker (RSW) examination."[33] There were some professionally qualified workers who never applied for registration. The Board of Examiners in California have encouraged the adoption of the RSW as a qualification for social workers until the time arrives when the law can be amended to restrict practice.

As already mentioned, voluntary registration now exists in the State of California; but such a plan is not regarded as adequate to meet the entire needs of the profession. The National Association of Social Workers News for February, 1959, reports that "NASW Chapters in two states--Rhode Island and Washington--have drafted laws regulating the practice of social work, both of which may be introduced in the next legislative session."[34] Nathan Sklar, who has given leadership to the group working on the Rhode Island law, reports that there is a good possibility of the law being enacted in 1959. However, the chairman of the project in the state of Washington reports that not all of the chapters have approved the law as proposed, but that the program is moving forward.

In essence, both laws provide for a certification system through which individuals who meet certain requirements may designate

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[33] Ibid.

[34] National Association of Social Workers News, February, 1959, p. 5.

themselves by a particular title. Both state proposals require graduation from an accredited school of social work as the basic requirement for coverage under the act. Both laws include a device for blanketing-in persons already in the field. The Rhode Island measure will blanket-in all persons who apply within one year after the law has been enacted and who were employed as social workers on a specific date and had been so employed for a period of not less than five years within the ten years to the date named. The Rhode Island bill proposes that there be an examination of all candidates for inclusion under the act with a $5.00 examination fee plus a $1.00 renewal fee after each five year period.

The Washington law proposes to blanket-in those social workers who apply within six months after the law is enacted and who have been employed full time for ten years within the last fifteen years or who have had one year of study in an accredited school of graduate work including 300 hours of field work. The Washington proposal does not require examination and sets up an application fee of $25.00 and an annual renewal fee of $10.00. In addition to providing for the legal regulation of practice, the Washington measure has a section equating communication between a social worker who is covered by the act and a client with communication between an attorney and his client and making the social worker-client communication confidential. At this time, the writer has not been able to obtain additional information on the progress of these two state proposals which would give legal sanction

to social work practice.[35]

The National Association of Social Workers now has a plan of voluntary certification which was presented to the Board of Directors on December 11, 1958, and has received the unanimous endorsement of the members of the National Commission on Personnel Standards and Practices. The Board did not take an official stand on the proposal, but voted to submit it to all N.A.S.W. chapters for study and action. A copy of the plan was published in the February, 1959, issue of the N.A.S.W. News.[36] Local chapters are being asked to discuss the plan, vote on it, and submit their comments and recommendations by November 1, 1959.

There are three major underlying assumptions on which the plan is based. The first assumption is that the voluntary certification plan is the next most feasible and most promising plan in the direction of regulation.[37] It is felt that this first step is necessary before any progress can be realized. A second "is that we need to make a distinction in the minds of the profession and the public, between those who by educational preparation and testing in the field are competent to practice, and others who are engaged in social work."[38] The

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., pp. 24-30.

[37] NASW News, "Proposed National Voluntary Certification Plan," February, 1959, p. 25.

[38] Ibid.

commission feels that such a distinction is good for the development of the professional, and that it is a logical consequence of the distinction which has already been set up by requiring the Master's degree for admission to N.A.S.W. The third assumption "is that the basic certification title should make it possible for the great majority of social workers (eligible for N.A.S.W. membership) to qualify within a few years after they have begun to practice."[39]

Following these three basic assumptions, the commission set forth three major principles of the plan.

> 1. Certification is based on concurrent membership in the NASW. We think this is a fair and reasonable requirement because (a) the plan is sponsored and administered by the NASW (b) certification implies not only competence but also adherence to an ethical code and only members of NASW are bound by the code of ethics in social work; (c) support of the only professional association in the field is a reasonable requirement of the mature social worker.
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> 2. In addition to educational preparation (as attested by the master's degree), competence to practice should be tested by experience in the field. Such testing will be accomplished under the plan by (a) experience in one agency for a reasonable period; (b) endorsement of the application by someone in the corporate structure of the agency who is in a position to make an evaluative judgment.
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> 3. The endorsement of the application should be by someone who is himself a competent practitioner as measured by the objective standard of being himself a Certified Social Worker.[40]

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

Perhaps some explanation is needed in reference to the difference in the requirements that the Commission has set up between new candidates and current members of N.A.S.W. In the matter, the Commission followed the pattern established at the time the N.A.S.W. was organized when all members of the predecessor organization were blanketed-in, regardless of their ability to qualify under the rules set up for new members. In this manner a relatively small number of practitioners can receive the title without possessing the same qualifications that are expected of the new candidates. The Commission also felt that in this manner the profession could create in a very short time a large reservoir of certified social workers, a great many of whom would be in a position to act as endorsers for the new candidates. The Commission felt that this means of determining "acceptable practice" was the only feasible one after examining several alternate plans. Below is the report of the plan for a National Voluntary Certification plan as proposed and recommended by the Commission on Personnel Standards and Practices of the N.A.S.W.[41]

> Recommended Policy and Procedure for Implementing the Plan
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> 1. Upon written application all members of the National Association of Social Workers who meet the qualifications specified below, shall receive the title Certified Social Worker and an appropriate certificate attesting thereto.

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[41] Ibid.

2. The requirement for obtaining the title Certified Social Worker for persons who are not full members of the association on the date this plan is placed into effect by resolution of the Board of Directors (or majority vote of the Delegate Assembly) shall be:

a. Full membership in the National Association of Social Workers and two years of acceptable professional experience after being admitted as a full member to the N.A.S.W.

b. Acceptable experience shall be defined as paid social work employment averaging a minimum of thirty hours per week continuously for two years in one agency or organization, during which time the member has been supervised by a Certified Social Worker and, in the judgment of his supervisor, has qualified for certification.

3. The requirement for obtaining the title Certified Social Worker for persons who are full members of the association on the date this plan is placed into effect by resolution of the Board of Directors (or majority vote of the Delegate Assembly) shall be two years of membership in N.A.S.W. and two years of paid employment. This revision shall apply for a two-year period beginning on the date upon which the plan goes into effect; after the two years have elapsed, all applicants must meet the requirements set forth in 2a and 2b.

4. After a member obtains the title Certified Social Worker, the right to this title shall be renewable annually on an automatic basis so long as the individual remains a member in good standing of the national association. Each year at the time the member pays his annual dues an appropriate device certifying to this right shall be issued.

5. A non-refundable application fee of from one to two dollars shall be charged for the initial application; and an annual fee of from twenty-five to fifty cents shall be charged for the annual recertification.

6. The title of Certified Social Worker shall be issued only after written application by the member applicant. Appropriate application forms for this purpose shall be devised.

> 7. In the event of differences of opinion concerning eligibility for the basic title between a member and the administrator of the plan, appeal may be to the national Commission on Personnel Standards and Practices and then to the N.A.S.W. Board of Directors.

This plan of certification would not be a substitute for legal sanction, but may serve as a logical step toward public legal registration in the future. This plan provides for the regulation of social work practice by social workers themselves and by state legislators.

The experience of legal regulation in several states and cities indicates that the problem is an extremely complex one. Legal regulation requires a more specific definition of social work practice and the spelling out of a functional uniqueness more clearly than can be done at this atage in the development of social work.

Although the registration and certification efforts in social work have not received the support they should have from some professional organizations and groups, and have had to overcome many difficulties, progress has been made and to some degree it can be measured. When compared to the licensure history of some other professions, the progress in this social work area appears to have been relatively smooth.[42]

A few suggestions and guides have been offered by some reporting on this subject. Damon Turner recommends that some clear distinction

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[42]Arne, op. cit., p. 190.

should be made between licensing, registration, and certification.[43] Resistance to any kind of regulation of professional practice results from the confusion around the three processes mentioned. It appears that some social workers are committed to the idea of regulation of practice but not to anything so restrictive as licensing. Turner says that "licensing involves a formal permission from proper authorities, in this instance an arm of the state government, permitting persons to perform certain acts, or to carry on certain occupations or professions, without which permission such activity would be illegal."[44] Registration involves the act of entering upon a register the name and identification of the practitioner. In this manner the public identifies the qualified practitioner through the fact of registration. Registration serves to notify to the public that certain individuals meet certain qualifications to practice. Those whose names do not appear on the register are prevented from practicing in the field. A very common example of members of a registered profession are nurses, whose entry upon the registry permits them to be identified as R. N. This is the form of regulation which is in effect in California for social workers.[45]

The certified social worker is the individual who possesses certain

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[43]Damon A. Turner, "The Licensing Effort--Seven Years After," Social Work Journal, XXXV (April, 1954), 69.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

qualifications which are guaranteed by the act of accrediting or declaring the individual as being trustworthy. "A certificate of qualification for the position is ordinarily presented to the individual, indicating that the possessor meets qualifications for the position as provided by law....."[46] Perhaps the best example of this kind of regulation is the Certified Public Accountant. Anyone may practice accounting, but only certified public accountants may designate themselves by the letters "C.P.A." This is the type of regulation of social work practice which is proposed by the National Association of Social Workers at this time.

There are many in the field of social work who object to the system of licensing for social workers. Some of the most serious objections are: (1) the supply of social workers is already too small, (2) licensing is not possible and probable as long as the profession itself has been unable to determine the essential character of social work practice and to fix standards of competence, (3) the term "social worker" has not yet been carefully defined, (4) the blanketing-in process which permits present-day social workers to qualify without examination has been criticized by some.[47]

Guides for future action have been suggested after studying the

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

California development in regulation of social work practice.[48] First, there should be active and intelligent support for the licensing law by the professional organization and lay groups. Second, any initial licensure law will require a waiver to make it possible for experienced persons on the job to be licensed. Third, the restriction of practice (after the blanketing-in period) might be accomplished by the adoption of one of the following plans:[49]

> License two categories such as "social workers" and "social work technicians." This would follow the pattern found in laws licensing dentists and dental hygienists. Some of the laws define the functions of the hygienist and specify where she may practice.
>
> Restrict the use of the term "social worker" to licensed practitioners. This would correspond to some laws relating to architects. An individual can draw plans for a house, sell the plans, and supervise construction, but it is illegal for such a person to pose as an architect.
>
> Limit practice to those who pass an examination given by a board. Depend on the examination to weed out the unqualified and those with a limited education. The educational qualifications can then be increased gradually. This plan follows the pattern of the legal profession.
>
> License all social workers by classifications. This is common in the engineering field. While all engineers have some basic equipment in common, they take examinations and are classified as chemical engineers, civil engineers, electrical engineers, and so forth. The boards of engineer examiners usually also license land surveyors, and in recent years have added the "engineer-in-training."

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[48] Arne, op. cit., p. 190.

[49] Ibid.

Community approval confers upon the profession certain privileges as well as specific powers. One of the most important professional privileges is that of confidentiality. In order to facilitate effective treatment or professional performance, the professional encourages the client to volunteer information he otherwise would not reveal. Greenwood has shown that the community regards this as privileged communication, shared solely between the client and professional.[50] Only a few of the professions enjoy this immunity, and its very rarity makes it the ultimate in professionalization.

Another one of the professional privileges is a relative immunity from community judgment on technical matters. Because standards for professional activities are reached by agreement within the profession and are based on the existing body of theory, the lay community is presumed incapable of comprehending these standards. Therefore, the lay person cannot use these standards to identify malpractice. "It is generally conceded that the professional's performance can be evaluated only by his peers."[51]

The powers and privileges which have been described in this chapter constitute a monopoly which is granted by the community to the

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[50] Greenwood, op. cit., p. 49.

[51] Ibid.

professional group. Any group striving for professional status will be concerned with the acquisition of this monopoly. But this is difficult to achieve because there are often counter-forces in the community which resist and retard the profession's claim to authority. The professional associations are active in trying to convince the community that it will benefit from granting a profession this monopoly. In summary, Greenwood states:

> Specifically the profession seeks to prove: that the performance of the occupational skill requires specialized education; that those who possess this education, in contrast to those who do not, deliver a superior service; and that the human need being served is of sufficient social importance to justify the superior performance.[52]

Summary

Professional authority is derived from two sources. One is professional authority based upon the client-professional relationship, and the other is the monopoly granted by the community. Social work, like most other occupations in the process of professionalization, strives to achieve these powers and privileges which are considered attributes of a profession. The client's subordination to professional authority invests the work with a kind of monopoly of judgment. There are limits to the professional authority in the client-worker relationship. This has been referred to as "functional specificity" by Parsons. The professional authority is characterized by "specificity of function" and the professional man is held to be "an authority" only in his own field. There

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[52] Ibid.

are several norms relating to the professional-client relationship which are especially well developed in healing and helping professions including social work. These norms are based upon the ideas of the impersonal relationship, emotional neutrality, impartiality, the ideal of service, and confidentiality.

The second type of authority the profession seeks is that of community sanction. Two very important powers exercised by a profession are the control over its training centers and control over admission into the profession. In the field of social work, control over its training centers is exercised through the process of accreditation which now is the province of the Council on Social Work Education. In social work there were two functions of accreditation at one time with one association accrediting the general educational programs and other associations representing specialized activities in social work granting approval in a special sequence. At the present, the final and total responsibility for accreditation rests with the Council on Social Work Education. At the present there is agreement that only the graduate professional curriculum should be accredited. Ideally, by granting or withholding accreditation, a profession can regulate the number of schools, the curriculum content, location of schools, and quality of instruction.

The movement for certification in social work illustrates the second way in which a profession acquires control over admission into the profession. The experience of legal regulation in several states

and cities indicates that in social work the problem is a complex one. The national volunteer plan of certification of social workers sponsored by the N. A. S. W. is a movement toward community sanction but should not be confused with legal regulation of practice. Legal regulation in social work will require a more specific definition of social work practice which spells out areas of technical competence and functional uniqueness more clearly than at the present stage of development in the field.

CHAPTER VII

PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

Introduction

When an occupation has developed skills and knowledge based on a systematic body of theory, when it has been granted authority over the client, and when it has attained community sanction, can the individual and community be guarded against the danger of abuses of these powers and privileges? The professional group could restrict the number of persons entering the profession and create a scarcity of personnel; it could regulate the prices of its services at an unreasonable level; and it could dilute the caliber of its services without community awareness. Were these and similar abuses widespread and conspicuous, the community would revoke the profession's monopoly.[1] This measure would probably not be necessary because almost every traditional profession has its own regulative code of ethics which compels ethical behavior on the part of its members.

Code of Ethics.

The profession's ethical code is both formal and informal.[2] The

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[1] Greenwood, op. cit., p. 50.

[2] Ibid.

formal one is a written code to which the professional usually swears when he is admitted to the practice. The informal is usually the unwritten code, but it nevertheless carries about the same controls. The profession's commitment to the social welfare is made known through the ethical code, and this insures the continued confidence of the community. Without such confidence the profession could not retain its monopoly. Many non-professional occupations have self-regulative codes, but the professional code is more systematic, explicit and binding. It is more oriented to public services.[3]

While the details of these ethical codes vary from one profession to another, the essentials are very similar. The contents of the ethical code usually center around two kinds of relationships, the client-professional and the colleague-colleague relations.

In the client-professional relationship, the professional must provide services to whoever requests the service regardless of the requesting client's age, race, sex, income, kinship, politics, and social status.[4] A non-professional may withhold his services without censure, but the professional cannot. The professional must assume emotional neutrality toward the client. Parsons calls this element in professional conduct "universalism." It is only in his extra-professional activities that the professional relates to others on particularistic

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[3] Ibid., p. 51.

[4] Ibid.

terms--that is, as particular individuals with concrete personalities attractive or unattractive to him.[5] Parsons also calls attention to another element which he labels "disinterestedness in the professional-client relationship."[6] The nonprofessional is sometimes motivated by self-interest. The professional is motivated more by the desire to perform his task well. His task is more service-oriented. The professional must, under all circumstances, give the highest caliber service; and he must render his services upon request, even at the sacrifice of personal convenience. The nonprofessional can dilute the quality of his commodity or service to fit the size of the client's fee; the professional cannot do this. Thus the conduct of the professional toward his client is characterized by universalism and disinterestedness. These relationships may be enforced by formal or informal codes, both having equal influence upon the professional's behavior.

A code of ethics must also govern the relationships of the professional to his colleagues. This code usually requires behavior that is cooperative, supportive and equalitarian. It is expected that members of a profession share technical knowledge with each other.[7] Any advance in theory and practice made by one professional is quickly disseminated to other members of the profession through the professional

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[5]Parsons, op. cit., pp. 457-467.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Greenwood, op. cit., p. 50.

association.[8] The secretive and proprietary attitudes toward invention and discovery prevalent in the industrial and commercial world are not in order in the professional domain. The open way in which nonprofessionals compete for clients is considered a violation of the ethical code for the professionals. One cannot deny that intra-professional competition exists, but it is highly regulated competition mixed with elements of cooperation. The colleague relations must remain equalitarian, and intraprofessional recognition should ideally be based solely upon performance in practice and contribution to theory.[9] Also, the colleague relationship cannot be too particularistic. Professional colleagues must support each other in the face of the clientele and community. The professional must refrain from remarks or acts which jeopardize the authority of colleagues, and give support to those whose authority is threatened. This in part explains why physicians do not testify against each other in matters of malpractice.[10]

The manner whereby a profession enforces the observance of the code of ethics is the achievement of self-discipline through informal techniques of behavior and more formal pressure of the professional association. Greenwood has said "that informal discipline consists of

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[8]Arlien Johnson, "Professional Standards and How They are Attained," Journal of American Dental Association, XXXI (September, 1944), 1181-1189.

[9]Greenwood, op. cit., p. 51.

[10]Ibid.

the subtle and not-so-subtle pressures that colleagues exert upon one another."[11] Informal disciplinary practices can be illustrated by the techniques usually referred to as consultation and referral. "Consultation is the practice of inviting a colleague to participate in the appraisal of the client's needs and in planning the treatment or service to be rendered."[12] Referral is the practice of allowing colleagues access to a client or to an appointment with the client. As professional ethics rule out aggressive competition and advertising, the practice of consultation and referral constitutes the principal source of work to a professional. In this way one colleague refers his client to another because of the lack of time or skill which prevents him from rendering the service needed by the client. He may also recommend another colleague because of his unique service or because of the degree of specialization. This is an age of specialization; and within a general professional service, there develop many very separate and distinct skills and services. In general the consultation and referral custom involves the professional colleagues in a system of reciprocity, and this relationship fosters mutual interdependence. A state of interdependence initiates social control.[13] When there is chronic violation of professional etiquette, colleague resentment is aroused. This may

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

result in the cessation of consultation requests and referrals.

One more formal discipline is exercised for the professional associations. The professional association has the power to criticize and to censure, and in some extreme cases to bar the individual from the field.

A Code of Ethics for the Social Worker

The medical profession established its first complete code of ethics in 1912; the legal profession, in 1908; the teaching profession, in 1929. Other professions and occupational groups with codes of ethics or ethical standards are ministers, dentists, dental laboratory technicians, and hospital administrators. By 1949 in all, over two hundred business and professional groups in the United States had adopted codes of ethics since 1890.[14]

One of the distinguishing features of a profession is the professional dedication to the service of humanity. In order to render this human service the profession needs to be united around basic ethical principles and in a professional, self-regulatory organization. Some professions have used regulation by law, but this kind of regulation has never been the chief factor in maintaining ethical standards. At the same time several professions place great emphasis upon continuous

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[14]David E. Hailman, "A Code of Ethics for the Social Worker," Social Work Journal, XXX (April, 1949), 44.

professional education and help to be given by older members of the group to the younger members. These means are all used for the purpose of achieving a high level of performance in the profession. At the same time, democratic rights of each individual in the profession should not be violated.[15]

In 1949 social work had no code of ethics, despite the widespread belief that the profession had a firm ethical base. But the profession had never agreed upon and set forth precisely just what was this ethical base. However, the field has not been completely idle in formulating and using certain well-defined ethical principles. Some of these ethical concepts and precepts appeared in the early literature of Mary Richmond. There are several formalized codes which have been established at the local level; and these include the San Francisco AASW Chapter (1939), the Utah Chapter (1943), the New York City Chapter (1945), the Colorado Springs Chapter (1947). The Canadian Association of Social Workers formulated a code in 1947, and in 1947 Linton B. Swift expressed his Social Worker's Creed.[16] In 1941, the American Association of Social Workers, through the Committee on Personnel Practices, formulated a statement of "Tentative Criteria of Professional Conduct," which was published in the August issue (1941) of The Compass.[17] This idea lay

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 45.

[17] Ibid.

dormant and was never realized, at least, as a project of the association.

Therefore, at the middle of the century, the need for a code of ethics remained. First, the need had to be defined. Primarily, social workers wanted and needed definite, recognized standards of professional conduct to guide them in their dealings with clients, fellow workers, employers, the community, and the general public. Hailman stated in his article that specifically, the profession needed a code of ethics for such purposes as:[18]

> 1. Establishing a basis for high standards of practice by the members of the profession, by social agencies, and the social work community in general.
>
> 2. Defining unethical practice and laying a basis for action to prevent or discontinue such practices.
>
> 3. Helping to define professional social work practice in legislation dealing with the licensing and tenure of social workers.
>
> 4. Developing sound working relationships with other professions, particularly medicine, law, teaching, and the ministry.
>
> 5. Working out problems with the courts and other governmental agencies.
>
> 6. Interpreting the profession to the public.

Added to the purposes listed above are two others: (1) reviewing and passing upon complaints against a member with possible withdrawal

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[18] Ibid.

of membership privileges because of a major violation of the code; (2) passing on applications for membership in the national association and for implementing the membership pledge.

The professional code of ethics should be of great value to the schools of social work in recruitment and in matters of curriculum, particularly in relation to problems related to field work. The code should be useful as a keystone in staff development programs in the agencies, and it could be of value in the working with lay groups, agency boards, and volunteers.

At this time the Committee on Personnel Practices felt that "a code of ethics should be regarded as one of the major links in the chain that the American Association of Social Workers is slowly forging, which will ultimately encompass the large and amorphosis area of social welfare into one of professional social work."[19]

The ultimate objective of a code of ethics is to advance and protect the welfare of those it serves through a discipline voluntarily imposed by the professional group upon itself.

It seemed evident that the organized professional body in social work should formulate a code such as those of other professions. By its earlier effort in 1941, the A.A.S.W. recognized this responsibility and in 1946 adopted the following resolution: "Whereas there has been

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[19] Ibid.

for a long time an interest in and a need for a code of ethics for the profession of Social Work; be it resolved that this Delegate Conference request the National Board to authorize a committee to formulate a code of ethics for the profession of social work as soon as possible."[20]

This task was given to the Personnel Practices Committee of the Association. The Kansas City Chapter accepted the task of drawing up a suggested code. This chapter asked other chapters, including Utah, Colorado Springs, New York City, Washington, D. C., and Syracuse to participate. These were all chapters who had previously worked on suggested codes of ethics for the field of social work. This project resulted in a tentative code which was considered in September, 1947, by the National Personnel Practices Committee and considerably revised. During 1947 and 1948 further work was done by the Kansas City, Washington, D.C., and New York City Chapters. Further revisions were made by the National Committee. This draft was sent to all chapters for comment and was the basis for a progress report made to the Delegate Conference in April, 1948. After several levels of revision and refinement, the suggested code went to the chapters for comment in November, 1948. To this request thirty-five chapters responded with hundreds of comments and suggestions. The code was passed upon in March, 1949 by the National Board of A.A.S.W.

After two years of continuous study with widespread participation and many revisions, the suggested code of ethics was ready for the consideration of the Delegate Conference.

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[20] Ibid., p. 46.

Significant Features of the Code.

The code of ethics for social workers, as it was presented in 1949, had made use of and patterned after the earlier codes in social work and those of other professions also. It contained some new principles and some older principles which had been rephrased in order to relate them to the field of social work. Two new elements in this code were "Basic Principles" and "Pledge."[21] The latter is a summary of the Pledge and it read as follows:

> As a social worker I will strive for personal integrity and self discipline. I will endeavor to increase my professional skills and to share my professional knowledge. I will respect the value and dignity of the individual human being. I will endeavor to use my professional skills to free others for growth and self-directed action. I will do all in my power to maintain and raise the standards of my profession and to enhance the esteem in which it is held.

The basic approach and organization of the social worker's code was concerned with human relationships. Even though relationships were grouped for convenience in presenting the code, the code was intended to be a whole code. There was close inter-relationship between numerous principles in the code, and no one principle should be considered to stand alone. Then, one significant feature of the code was that its basic approach was the setting forth of ethical principles that the social worker should follow in his professional relationships.

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[21] Ibid., p. 46.

These relationships included: relationship with persons or groups served, with the employing agency, with colleagues, with the community, and with the profession.

It was the intention of the committee to exclude the principles classified as standards of practice, methods and skills. These are not basic concepts of right and wrong, and they might change as knowledge of the practice grows. The principles were intended to cover the important recurrent problems and situations encountered by all social workers rather than those arising in a small segment of the profession.

The principles are intended to apply to every person who can be considered to "practice social work."[22] The committee felt that this was following the pattern established by other professions. The sanctions which each profession can bring to bear for the violation of the code of ethics or for malpractice under the law varies greatly, but the ethical principles are intended to cover all practice in the profession. In this connection, however, it is well to remember that the membership in the National Association of Social Workers is still, at the present, a small per cent of all persons practicing social work.

There were other significant features of this basic code. It was intended that the code would apply to each person practicing or directing the practice of social work: family case worker, medical and

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[22] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

psychiatric social workers, group workers, those engaged in teaching social work, those engaged in community organization, the workers in private practice, the students, the supervisors, the workers with formal social work education and the workers with none, the A.A.S.W. members and the non-members.[23] The committee realized that the knowledge and understanding of these groups and individuals would vary, but it was hoped that the code would be used to promote knowledge and understanding of standards of ethical behavior in social work.

The code was not designed to cover volunteers, persons on advisory boards, clerical staff and consultants. It was not intended to cover professional workers from other fields and top administrative staff members in large governmental agencies whose actions do not affect social work practice in an ethical sense.

The proposed code of ethics, like all ethical principles, was related to the individual, his sense of morality, his conscience, and his acts. The code may be adapted to the purposes of the agency or organization, but in its early form it took on the aspects of an ethical handbook of the individual social worker.[24]

There was the feeling of those who drafted this early code that the principles of this code could not be rigidly applied and that it would

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

be used primarily as an educational tool. This tremendous effort came to realization when the principles of this code were incorporated as a part of the "Standard for the Professional Practices of Social Work" which was adopted in the 1951 Delegate Assembly of the A.A.S.W. and published in a supplement to the July, 1952 Social Work Journal. This statement included (1) Code of Ethics (2) Personnel Standards and Practices of Social Work (3) Civil Rights in Social Work. The principles of professional conduct are divided into the following relationships: (1) Relations to Clientele, (2) Relations to Employing Agency (3) Relations to Colleagues (4) Relations to Community, and (5) Relations to the Profession of Social Work.

The Professional Culture

In every profession there develops a "way of life" all its own. This is indeed one of the distinguishing marks of a profession. This may be called the group's subculture as distinguished from the culture of the greater society of which it is a part. The subculture of a group includes such items as devices for distributing its services, the means of communication, its internal hierarchy, and mechanisms of regulation.[25] Every profession or occupational group operates through a network of formal and informal groups. There are several types of

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[25] Ernest Greenwood, Toward a Sociology of Social Work, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

formal groups. First, there are the organizations through which a profession performs its services. These provide the approved setting where the professional and client meet.[26] The most typical example of this in social work is the social agency. There are other institutionalized settings in which one will find social work services. These include the Social Service Department of hospitals and clinics, in institutions for the mentally and emotionally disturbed individuals, in children's institutions, in courts and public schools. The social agency is usually considered the typical structure for the administration of social work services. This idea is often disturbed by the appearance of the social worker in many of these other settings. The concept of the social worker as a part of a team of professionals is gradually gaining significance in social work as well as in other professional services.

Secondly, there are the formal groups whose functions are to replenish the profession's supply of talent and to expand the knowledge in the field. These organizations are educational and Research Centers.[27] In social work the schools of social work are well-established and extensive enough to demonstrate this type of professional group. The schools of social work and research centers have already been

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[26]Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," op. cit., p. 51.

[27]Ibid.

described in the study. Third among the formal groups are the professional associations.[28] The National Association of Social Workers is now the central and basic professional association in social work. It represents the merging of seven associations which at one time existed in the field of social work, and it has survived also a change in name.

The first general professional association in social work, the American Association of Social Workers, came into being in 1921. The American Association of Medical Social Workers was organized in 1918; the National Association of School Social Workers was organized in 1919; and the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers was organized in 1926. It is interesting to note that in social work this process was somewhat different from most occupations. Specializations preceded the general organization and were being built up before social work had a common base. This type of specialized development in social work and social work education continued for about thirty years before the professional associations began to find common interest and to desire organization. The structure and program has been designed to further a sound unification of objectives and activities, but allowing for flexible diversification in line with the particular interest of the members and the changing need of a growing profession.[29]

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Nathan E. Cohen, "Social Work as a Profession," Social Work Year Book, 1957, pp. 555-556.

Around and within these formal organizations, there exist many informal groupings. They are the multitude of small, closely knit clusters of colleagues.[30] Membership in these small groups is based upon a variety of factors: specialties within the profession; affiliation with select professional societies; place of residence; distance from work; family, religious or ethnic background; and personality attractions. "The interaction of social roles required by these formal and informal groups generates a social configuration unique to the profession--a professional culture."[31]

Most sociologists generally agree that all occupations are characterized by these formal and informal groupings. In this respect the professions are not different. What is different is the kind of culture which results from the professional environment. Greenwood says "if one were to single out the attribute that most effectively differentiates the professions from other occupations, this is it."[32] Therefore, one can distinguish between a professional culture and a non-professional culture. Within the professions as a class or occupational group, each profession develops its own subculture which is a variant of the professional culture. For example, within the professions there are several subcultures--one for each independent and

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[30]Greenwood, op. cit., p. 52.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

different profession. The subculture of medicine differs from the subculture of social work. The subculture of social work differs from the subculture of engineering.

The culture of a profession consists of its values, norms, and symbols.[33] The social values of a professional group are the fundamental beliefs and the unquestioned premises upon which the very existence of a profession rest. These are many and vary with the emphasis placed upon certain values by each professional group. Most professional groups believe that their service is good and that the community welfare would be damaged by its absence. Another value is the proposition that in technical competence, the professional group is much wiser than the lay group. This value is related to the two concepts of professional authority and monopoly. Then there is the value of rationality, the commitment to objectivity in the realm of theory and practice. These and other values are those which make the professional culture different from the non-professional. Most professional values stem from the other attributes of the profession. They include values stemming from a body of knowledge, the professional authority and the ethical conduct of the professional.

The impact of values upon human behavior has long been considered by sociologists. Values determine the choices men make, and the ends they live by. What is considered good or evil, what is right

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[33] Ibid.

and wrong, success and failure, what is important and unimportant, desirable and undesirable, beautiful or ugly, are all value questions.[34] It is not the purpose of this study to be concerned with the philosophical study of values, their objective reality, or their relations to ultimate truth, but more with the recognition of their implication for behavior and their implications for practice.

In social work the study of values is important on a number of levels. To understand the meaning of values is a way of understanding society and individual behavior. It brings about an examination of values underlying the profession itself. It involves the awareness of changing values. This concern with values brings about an awareness of the similarities and differences existing in the social agency and the community or between the social worker and his agency. While the acceptance of differences usually comes easily to social workers, conflicts in values are not always readily seen, whether these values have their source in religious, class, ethnic, regional, or other groups with which the individual identifies.[35]

Puritan teachings have exercised a great influence upon the ideology in America with its accent upon individual responsibility, on the importance of work, and the status achieved through success.

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[34]Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward, Social Perspectives on Behavior (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 263.

[35]Ibid., 264.

Social work, however, has disassociated itself from the idea that to be in need is to be inferior. But in so doing it has come in conflict with some values long and deeply held in the American tradition. The non-judgmental view in the treatment of deviant behavior is another source of conflict with prevailing norms. Social work has at the same time beem imbued with other facets of the American ideology which stemmed from Puritan sources. It has been assumed that most social workers come from the middle class and they tend to hold values common to the middle class--for example, striving for greater achievement, thrift, and high educational expectation for children. If clients do not maintain these same values, they may be regarded as having problems in their adjustment.[36] Social workers like other practitioners in the clinical professions may unknowingly communicate their own standards when these are at variance with those of the client groups. This situation sometimes leads to a gradual self-selection of clientele, confined to those having reached or aspired to middle class position. Of course, social workers and social work agencies should have values of their own to which they adhere, but such determination of value premises needs to be explicit and the consequences recognized. If this caution is not observed, the social worker and agency may find themselves in a position of conveying "total acceptance" of the clientele

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[36] Ibid.

on the surface, while in reality and unwittingly, selecting conforming clientele and bringing pressure to bear on others to accept the agency's implicit values.

Another illustration of the impact of values on practice can be taken from the multi-function agency. Now professional social work services are carried out in a variety of organizations, many of which are not under social work direction, such as hospitals, courts, prisons, and industries. In many of these settings the values of the organization are not entirely consistent with those of professional social work. In this process there is the effect of actually transforming social work ends. As a result, the ends of social work can become submerged in organizational ends. It seems to be less a question of conflict of values that arises under these conditions than the whittling down of distortion of professional ends under the dominance of organizational ends.

Robin Williams approaches the concept of values as a "means of organizing conduct" and traces the principal value systems operative in American society; achievement and success, activity and work, moralistic orientation, humanitarian mores, efficiency and practicality, material comfort, equality, external conformity, science and secular rationality, nationality-patriotism, democracy, individual responsibility, racism.[37] These value systems are modal for a society as a whole,

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[37]Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society: a Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 388-440.

but are not uniformly distributed throughout the society. Some of these value systems have been much more prevalent in social work than others. Early in the history of social work the value of humanitarianism was greatly emphasized, while present day social work actually in a sense challenges some of the traditional humanitarian mores. For the field of social work it is important to consider which values prevade the profession and are fundamental premises to which all social workers are bound, and which ones may vary in the profession. For the individual social worker, it becomes essential to make explicit his own values for himself in order to recognize those of others.[38]

The norms in any professional group are the guides to behavior in social situations. There is a behavior norm to cover every standard inter-personal situation which occurs in the professional life. The professional subculture has been referred to as a "way of life." Each profession develops a system of role definitions, and these cover almost every situation which involves persons in interaction within the professional setting. Appropriate behavior is established for: (1) seeking admittance into the profession, (2) for being accepted as a member of its formal and informal groups, (3) for changing of one's position within the profession. Many types of behavior are covered by

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[38]Stein and Cloward, op. cit., p. 265.

professional norms, such as the manner of conducting referrals, securing appointments, handling consultations, and working as a member of a team on cooperative cases. The behavior of the professional in relation to the client follows basic norms. A professional must learn the proper way to accept clients, to receive them, and to dismiss them. These techniques, which become almost routine, are rigidly regulated by professional norms which are a part of the professional subculture. These are standard ways of relating to peers, superiors, or subordinates. There are proper ways of questioning the old outmoded theories and techniques. There is a pattern and proper channel by which new ideas are introduced. Then there is a proper way of handling disputes and intra-professional controversy.

The symbols of a profession are the items to which some meaning has been attached. These are many and vary with the profession. Symbols include such things as insignias, emblems, distinctive dress, history, folklore, heroes and villains, and the stereotypes of the professional, the client and the layman.[39] The stereotype of the social worker has changed some in the course of twenty-five to fifty years. But some remnants of the earlier stereotype of the social worker still remain. The man-on-the-street stereotype of the social worker at one time ran very much as follows: the social worker is a woman who wears health shoes and horn-rimmed glasses, carries a little black note book

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[39]Greenwood, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

and goes about the neighborhood snooping and meddling in other people's business. Today, about one out of three or four social workers is a man. The social worker may or may not wear health shoes and horn-rimmed glasses; and she may carry a note book, brief case or nothing; and she does most of her work in an office and not in the neighborhood. The stereotype of the social worker today includes other characteristics--some favorable and others not so favorable.

Another of the central concepts of the professional culture is the career concept. The term career is usually employed only in reference to a professional occupation. At the heart of the career concept is a certain attitude toward work. This attitude is often referred to as professional because it is not usually present in the nonprofessional occupation.[40] A career is essentially a calling, a life devoted to "good works."[41]

> The term calling literally means a divine summons to undertake a course of action. Originally, it was employed to refer to religious activity. The Protestant Reformation widened its meaning to include economic activity as well. Henceforth, divinely inspired "good works" were to be both secular and sacred in nature. Presumably, then, any occupational choice may be a response to divine summons.[42]

Professional work is seldom accepted solely as a means to an end;

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

it is an end in itself. The advance of science, the healing of the ill, the educating of children are values in themselves. Ideally the professional performs his services only secondarily for the monetary compensation. "It is this devotion to the work itself which imparts to professional activity the service orientation and the element of disinterestedness."[43] The professional becomes completely absorbed by his work and this results in a total personal involvement. This work, then, spills over into after-work hours and the leisure hours diminish. Often to the professional his work becomes his life. There are some interesting by-products of this all-pervading influence of work upon the lives of professionals. The members tend to associate with one another, their families mingle, and much leisure time is spent in talk about professional matters. The profession thus becomes a whole social environment, a subculture based upon norms, ideologies and symbols of the specific culture. The professions vary in their adaptations and extent of the elements of a subculture.

The professional subculture is important to the new recruit in the field, because to succeed in his chosen profession he must make satisfactory adjustment to the professional subculture. The mastery of the basic body of knowledge and the acquiring of the technical skills are in themselves not enough to guarantee professional success. He must become familiar with the professional culture and find his way in the maze

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[43] Ibid.

of norms and ideologies. In a sense, the transformation of a neophyte into a professional is essentially an acculturation process wherein he internalizes the social values, the behavior norms, and the symbols of the occupational group.[44] This acculturation process carries certain frustrations and rewards which are very similar to those experienced by an immigrant in a relatively strange culture. There are stereotypes of the professional by those outside the group, and then there are stereotypes of the ideal colleague within the profession. The ideal colleague is the one who is thoroughly adjusted to the professional culture. The poorly acculturated colleague is a deviant, and is often regarded as peculiar, annoying, and a trouble maker. "Whereas the professional group encourages innovation in theory and techniques, it tends to discourage deviations from its values and norms."[45] The subculture of social work has not been studied systematically, and no basic concepts exist upon which systematic theory in the area may be assimilated.[46]

Summary

Professional behavior is regulated by the formal and informal ethical standards in the field. The formal code is written and enforced

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[44] Ibid.

[45] R. Clyde White, "Social Workers in Society; Some Further Evidence," Social Work Journal, XXXIV (October, 1953), 161-164.

[46] Greenwood, Toward a Sociology of Social Work, p. 54.

by governmental authority. The informal codes may be written or unwritten and are often administered by professional authority usually vested in a professional association. This second type of regulation by code is typical of what has happened in social work. The existing code of ethics for social workers resulted from the labors of the Personnel Practices Committee of the National Association of Social Workers (formerly known as the American Association of Social Workers). This code for social workers has clearly set forth a pattern of behavior norms for the social workers which covers four areas of relationships: (1) the social worker-client relationship, (2) the colleague relationship, (3) the relationship of the worker to the agency, and (4) the relationship of the worker to the community. The code of ethics for social workers has gone beyond the two basic essential relationships which are usually included in all professional codes--client-professional and colleague-colleague relations. Parsons suggests that the professional in relation to his client must assume "emotional neutrality" and "disinterestedness." The ethics governing colleague relationships usually exact behavior which is cooperative, equalitarian, and supportive. The techniques of referral and consultation are used by professionals since the proprietary and self-interested motives characteristic of the commercial world are ruled out of the professions.

A profession operates through a network of formal and informal groups, and the interaction of the social roles required by these groups constitutes a professional culture. The culture of a profession includes

the values, norms, and symbols of the professional group. Characteristics of the professions in general include service ideal, professional authority and monopoly, and the value of rationality. The norms of a profession are the guides to behavior, and around these there is established a system of role definitions. There are appropriate ways of entering the profession, or relating to peers and superiors, and a whole array of other types of behavior. The symbols of a profession include insignia, emblems, dress, history, folklore, and stereotypes of the professional, the client, and the layman. The career concept is very important to the professional culture. Every profession has its own subculture, and no real systematic study of the subculture of social work has been carried out. This particular attribute of the professional status of social work has not yet been well defined.

The purpose of Part III of this study is to examine some elements of the subculture of social work with particular emphasis upon occupational ideologies which influenced the prestige, authority, and monopoly of social work as a profession.

CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATIONAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL WORK

Introduction

The hope of almost every profession is to have its practitioners embody the best of its knowledge, experience, skill and ethics. When these are carried out fully, the professional will practice with dignity, confidence, and success. Another important factor is that the nature and contribution of the profession will become so much a part of the practitioner that its perpetuation and continuing progress are assured.[1]

Some believe that the worker's attitude toward carrying this degree of independent responsibility is determined largely by his concept of his role and place in his profession. The worker's attitude is also influenced by the attitude of the profession toward itself and the demands it makes upon its members.

A primary factor here is the profession's concept of itself--the image it hopes to project to its members, to those it hopes to recruit as future practitioners, and to the community.

> The self-image influences its selection of personnel for the field and for advancement in the field; it determines the criteria for the judging of work done; it controls the

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[1] Frances Levinson Beatman, "How Do Professional Workers Become Professional?," Social Casework, XXXVII (October, 1956), 383.

> subtle and open traditions handed down to new workers; and most important, it determines the amount of freedom and support it will give to its members.[2]

But one would ask, what are the manifestations of the profession's attitude toward itself? This question is basic to the central theme of Part III of this study. One writer in the field has suggested that the most significant indicator is whether the field consistently treats itself as a profession.[3] Social work, in its desire to maintain itself as a dynamic field, has behaved as if it had not yet attained its majority. The real question is whether social workers believe that they are members of an independent discipline with a service and methodology which is backed by transferrable knowledge and teachable skills. Another question is whether social workers believe that social work is a derivative profession or a full profession in which they are able to determine the field, the controls, the educational content, and area of competence. Will social work be able to demand its rightful place and status in the community?[4]

Many attempts have been made to answer the questions raised above, and there are varying interpretations of the profession's attitude toward itself. Some of the answers today include: (1) social work needs to define its areas of competence, (2) the social climate in which

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[2] Ibid., pp. 383-384.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

social workers operate today is very complex, and the work situation creates tensions and frustrations, (3) social work is faced with a status dilemma, and (4) there is great need for the examination of the worker-client authority relationships in social work.

Many attempts have been made to single out and draw the boundary lines to the area of competence in social work. At the same time that much effort is being spent in this area, others feel that these attempts are actually damaging to the field of social work. In 1950 Jane M. Hoey summarized her interpretation of this problem as follows:

> The main problem confronting social work is failure to define our areas of competence. As we develop greater workmanship we shall be able to reach accord on the nature and extent of our function and skill. With the achievement of real workmanship and defined areas of competence we shall be able to determine more accurately what constitutes the science of human relations on which our art is based and how this science can be communicated to social workers in the training process. Our professional relations with other disciplines will become secure and cooperative as we can tell them what our competence is.....as the science of human relations is clarified, through its recognized content social work will make its contribution to knowledge of individual personality and the solution of social problems.[5]

The role of the social worker, according to Jane Hoey, includes a specific network of skills which constitutes its identity and distinguishes its practice from the practice of other professions and

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[5]Jane M. Hoey, "Social Work: Its Base, Skills, and Relation to Other Fields," Social Casework, XXXI (December, 1950), 410.

occupations.[6] As an identifiable entity, social work is practiced in three ways: (1) it operates in an agency or institution devoted to providing one or more social services to individuals and groups; (2) it operates as part of a team with members of other professions to provide a co-ordinated and balanced multi-service program to individuals and groups; and (3) it operates in an auxiliary capacity in support of another type of service to individuals or groups. The role of the social worker in the various levels of function creates variations in the authority and status for the social worker; and it presents a confused picture to the public. One common thread of interest running through this entire study is how can the facts about social work as a profession be presented to the public? As long as there are confused self-images among social workers, will the professional status of social workers and the prestige of social work be left to the evaluation of those outside the field?

People work for many reasons, but regardless of the basic motivation, the work role is important to the individual. To some people, work is a means of subsistence, to others it may be a duty. Work may be considered a part of social behavior and creative work has its psychological impact upon the individual; work may even be considered punishment. Work may be a means to an end or an end in itself; a work

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[6] Ibid., pp. 402-403.

situation may be simple or complex. Today it is felt that the social climate in which social workers operate is a very complex one.[7] The work situation in social work creates tensions and frustrations. The source of frustration is in part within the worker and in part from the environment. "The person who chooses a service profession is subject to the projected hostility and criticism of anxious, sick people and of a frightened and immature society."[8] There are rewards, however, in freeing an individual client for greater growth and for a more realistic use of himself in his community. The social worker must have respect for his own worth, allow for tolerance of one's range of capacity, and for the persistence to channelize energy in a freely productive way.[9] The social worker cannot be adequate to every occasion and need not feel guilty when failures occur. This is the situation in most helping and healing professions. There are tensions and frustrations in the social work situation created by agency policy and function, skills of the social worker, and the availability of community resources. These three dimensions are basic to the work situation of the social worker. These are further complicated by such factors as salaries, case loads, physical setting and other satisfactions.

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[7]Charlotte G. Babcock, "Social Work as Work," Social Casework, XXXIV (December, 1953), 422.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid.

The status problems of social work are many and complex. Several have attempted some explanation for the low prestige position of professional social work. Herbert Bisno, one of several who have approached this subject, says that the following factors contribute to what he has called the "status dilemma" in social work:

> (1) professional immaturity and lack of standards, (2) the character of certain services which are peripheral to the functions of well-established, high prestige professions, (3) the "lady-bountiful" tradition, (4) the numerical dominance of women, (5) the public identification of the worker with his low-status clientele, (6) the invidious attitudes of an acquisitive society toward welfare functions and services, and (7) the somewhat deviant ideology and value systems which contain an implied threat to the status quo.[10]

Bisno feels that the prestige of social work is related to the shift in emphasis on the part of social workers "from a broad scientific inquiry to a concentration on method and technique."[11]

Recently there have been a few attempts to examine the worker-client authority relationship in social work.[12] Elliot Studt, in her most recent article, suggests that a study of authority relationships should be extended to all fields of service in social work. In summary, she says that authority relationships between social workers and clients are

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[10]Herbert Bisno, "How Social Will Social Work Be?," Social Work, I (April, 1956), 14.

[11]Ibid., p. 12.

[12]For an extensive discussion on the subject see Elliot Studt, "Worker-Client Authority Relationships," Social Work, IV (January, 1959), 18-28.

determined by the following facts:

> 1. Social workers and clients come together in a complex organizational setting in which a number of sanctioning systems combine to define the task and determine the allocation of authority.
>
> 2. Social workers are members of decision-making teams.....
>
> 3. The authority positions in which social workers are placed require ability to share decisions at the team level.
>
> 4. The positions for the client are variously designed within the different social services...
>
> 5. The persons in the client positions vary extensively in their ability to use authority constructively.
>
> 6. The social worker as the person in the authority position needs to be clear as to the nature of the authority which is delegated to him.

A more generic approach to authority and its meaning in social work would enhance the professional status of social workers.

This chapter will present the attitude of social workers concerning social work as a profession. The first part concerns social work as a helping profession, and the second part displays the social workers' attitudes about the prestige of social work as a profession.

Social Work: A Helping Profession

Social work is classified as one of the helping professions, and for social workers, one might assume that placing one's self in a position to help others would be both an important source of satisfaction and perceived as highly valued. Bowers, in a recent article,

considers social work as belonging to the helping and healing professions.[13] It is not the purpose of this study to attempt to draw boundary lines between these two types of activities. Bowers stated that, in purpose, social work has sought to be a helping and healing activity. He feels that the social worker's favorite aphorism on "helping people to help themselves" really borders on the redundant. But social workers have seen their helping role in the true sense of an enabling function. Social workers have insisted that the resolution of social problems in the individual, the group, or the community should be brought about by the mobilization of the subject's own will to act or change. Client self-determination has been so stressed in some social situations that the fear of imposing something upon the client has prevented the fulfillment of the educational role inherent in social work's goals. "Social work theory has always insisted that no matter how narrow the specific treatment focus in a given situation, the whole person or group must not be lost sight of."[14] More recently, social work has moved toward the clarification of the specific aspect of man with which social work deals: man in his interdependencies with his human and social environment. More and more social work recognizes

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[13]Swithun Bowers, "Social Work as a Helping and Healing Profession," Social Work, II (January, 1957), 59.

[14]Ibid.

that since it deals directly with but one part of the whole it must collaborate with other competencies if its service is to be effective and productive.

The intent of this study was to select a social work population and by use of the questionnaire method obtain data on the attitudes of social workers themselves concerning some aspects of social work as an occupation. Two groups of social workers were included, and the population of the study consisted of 132 social workers in Dallas, Texas. Eighty social workers were members of the Dallas Chapter of NASW and 52 were staff members of the Dallas regional office of DPW.

The respondents were asked to rank ten occupations according to which had the most power to help people. The item on the questionnaire read as follows: "The power to help others is important to many professions. How would you rank social work with other helping professions?" The following instructions were given: Number from one to ten the following professions and occupations according to which has the most power (abilities based upon professional skill and competence) to help people. Table VI shows the perceived relative power of social workers to help people.

In general social workers rank themselves very high in the power to help. The total group placed social work second on the list of the ten occupational groups listed. The entire group was willing to admit that medicine only was endowed with powers to help people which were greater than social work. The degree of agreement between the two

TABLE VI

PROFESSION AND OCCUPATION ACCORDING TO HELPING POWER

Occupation	Mean Rank			Rank		
	Total	NASW	DPW	Total	NASW	DPW
Medicine	2.27	2.15	2.45	1	1	1
Social Work	3.61	3.52	3.75	2	2	3
Ministry	3.67	4.15	2.98	3	3	2
Teaching	4.22	4.39	3.96	4	4	4
Psychoanalysis	5.00	4.42	5.83	5	5	5
Law	5.83	5.57	6.11	6	6	6
Nursing	6.29	6.22	6.40	7	7	7
Occupational Therapy	7.52	7.89	7.00	8	9	8
Dentistry	7.57	7.21	8.07	9	8	9
Public Relations	8.80	9.25	8.17	10	10	10

groups of social workers on the relative power of social workers is of interest. From teaching, which ranked fourth, to public relations, which ranked tenth, both groups of social workers when considered separately were in agreement upon the relative power of these occupations to help people. The difference came in the first three occupations. Both the DPW staff members and the NASW members agreed that medicine ranked highest on the list. The members of the NASW chapter

felt that social work ranked second while the DPW staff members placed social work as third in the power to help people. The DPW group felt that both medicine and the ministry ranked higher than social work. The difference here in the ranking of social work is not great, but is significant because while the two groups were in agreement about the relative power of other occupations to help, they lacked agreement on the helping aspects of social work. This group of occupations, of course, is a selected one and so arranged as to represent a relatively close position to the so-called traditional helping professions. However, some helping occupations of relatively recent origin are included--occupational therapy, public relations, and psychoanalysis.

In a study of the Detroit social worker in 1952 this same device was used, but the occupations included represented a much greater spread in the power to help people.[15] Such groups as plant executive, salesman, and clerical worker were listed. It was after the questionnaire material for the present study had been tabulated that the writer asked Mr. Polansky for a more detailed report of his study which revealed the occupational categories used in his study. Therefore, no extensive comparison could be made of the two studies. However, it may be noted that in the Detroit study, social workers ranked the doctor

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[15]Norman Polansky, William Bowen, Lucille Gordon, and Conrad Nathan, "Social Workers in Society: Results of a Sampling Study," Social Work Journal, XXXIV (April, 1953), 74-80.

as first and the social worker as second in the perceived relative power to help.

The results of this earlier study by Polansky and his associates are included to accentuate the fact that social workers in 1952 and 1959 agreed upon the relative position of social work as a helping profession. This attitude, then, appears to be moving toward stabilization when there is this degree of similarity from two different groups of social workers in widely separated areas of the United States. Whether or not this constitutes a distorted and compensating view is, of course, debatable, but there is at least clear evidence of a healthy self-respect among social workers with regard to their ability to help. This segment of the self-image of the social worker is encouraging, but the lack of agreement among social workers themselves as displayed by the two groups in this study concerning the profession's power to help people might be an indication of incongruence in the status of social work. However, in general, if the power to help is a value, social workers feel that their occupation offers it to its practitioners.

Occupations Considered Similar to Social Work.

Since this listing was presented to the respondents, the writer recognized that the responses were at least limited to the ten occupations listed. Therefore, two other questions were included in the questionnaire following the one discussed above. These two categories were designed to allow the respondent to name three occupations which

he felt were similar to social work and three which were dissimilar. In Table VII the ten occupations which were listed with greatest frequency are listed both for the total group and for the two groups separately. Some very interesting observations can be drawn from this type of response in contrast to the perceived relative ranking of the ten helping professions suggested above. Social workers responding to this question granted that medicine was endowed with the greatest power to help people, but it was not considered to be the most similar service. Responses to this questionnaire showed that medicine came third and was in the same position as counseling when it was considered from the standpoint of similarity to social work.

TABLE VII

OCCUPATIONS CONSIDERED VERY SIMILAR TO SOCIAL WORK

Occupation	Per cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Ministry	68.94	55.00	90.40
Teaching	46.97	35.00	65.40
Medicine	26.52	18.75	36.50
Counseling	26.52	36.25	11.53
Psychiatry	21.21	27.50	11.53
Psychology	12.88	17.50	5.77
Nursing	10.63	8.75	13.46
Psychoanalysis	9.91	11.25	5.77
Occupational Therapy	9.85	7.50	13.46
Law	8.33	8.75	7.69

It was interesting that one respondent wrote a note saying he considered medicine a healing profession. Apparently this person is one who has not yet accepted the team approach to helping people, and would exclude from medicine the role of the psychiatrists, the medical and psychiatric social workers, and the psychosomatic approach of the healing profession. At any rate, it might appear that a few social workers now tend to narrow their areas of competence for the sake of professionalism. This social worker was a man with a high degree of social work training and who is outstanding for his service and contributions to individuals, groups and the community. The social workers in this study felt that the ministry, teaching, and medicine were the professions most similar to social work.

An observation of the responses of the two different groups of social workers is of some interest. Ninety per cent of the DPW group felt that the ministry was similar to social work, which was higher than the NASW and the total group. Only 55 per cent of the NASW group associated the ministry with social work, but of the total 68.9 per cent listed the ministry as being similar to social work. Also, more of the DPW people listed teaching as similar to social work, while only 35 per cent of the NASW made this association. This could probably be influenced by the fact that many public assistance workers are now and especially in the past have been drafted from the teaching field. More of the DPW respondents stated that social work was similar to medicine (36.5 per cent). Only 18.8 per cent of the NASW personnel

observed similarities between social work and medicine. Table VII shows that in general ministry, teaching, and medicine were the three occupations most similar to social work, which certainly in the image of the social worker places social work in the professional category. It also seems to display that social workers like to identify social work with three of the so-called traditional professions. This response, the writer would refer to as one resulting from free association as no check list was submitted for the use of the respondents. Beyond the top three occupations listed as similar to social work, there is considerable difference in the other seven occupations listed. Slightly over 36 per cent of the NASW members thought counseling was similar to social work. Counseling here is used as a generic term even though the respondents mentioned several specific types of counseling. Only 11.5 per cent of the DPW workers listed counseling as a similar service to social work. Much the same situation is true of psychiatry. While 27.5 per cent of the NASW social workers felt that psychiatry was much like social work, only 11.5 per cent of the DPW workers responded in this manner.

There are two other differences worth mentioning--nursing and occupational therapy. The DPW workers felt that nursing was more like social work than counseling, psychiatry, psychology, psychoanalysis, and law. Thirteen per cent of the DPW workers believed that nursing and occupational therapy were similar to social work. Only 8.7 per cent of the NASW members felt that nursing was

similar to social work and just 7.5 per cent listed occupational therapy. Law, or the legal service, was at the bottom of the ten services and occupations listed as similar to social work. Others were listed in such low frequency as not to be considered significant to the study.

There are some rather obvious observations to be made. Some social workers from both groups in this study agreed that law was a service similar to social work, but it fell at the bottom of the occupations most mentioned. Since the social workers were asked to list three, it would seem that law, one of the traditional professions, is not akin to social work. Until the appearance of the public defender, perhaps law did not reach all economic levels, especially the economically deprived as did some other service professions. Brown, in her comparative study of social work, law, and medicine, which was quoted earlier in the study, intimated that law catered to a special kind of clientele. However, there are other traditional professions (ministry, teaching, and medicine) which are considered by social workers as services very similar to social work. Certainly the occupations most frequently listed by the social workers are considered service fields, many with high professional standing in the occupational structure. There are some interesting variations in the responses of the two groups of social workers. It might be expected that the degree of professionalization and the nature of the contacts with clients might explain a few of these differences. The functions of the DPW and the nature of contact with the client are more routine than the general

population of the NASW members. These are the social workers who perhaps have to rely upon the minister, the teacher, and the doctor to help meet the every day needs of their clients whose basic need is economic and financial. The NASW workers who work with clients whose basic need is not always financial, but more in the area of personal and social adjustment, depend upon the minister, the counselor, teacher, and psychiatrist.

It does seem that social workers tend to identify their work situation in terms of service, at least, with the service professions, which is in agreement with the first finding in this chapter that social workers feel that social work provides them with the power to help others.

Occupations Considered Very Dissimilar to Social Work.

Social workers seem to agree more on the professions which they consider very similar to social work than on the occupations which are dissimilar. (See Table VIII). The occupations considered most dissimilar were engineering, salesmanship, farming, and the scientist. As has already been discussed, law was at the bottom of the ten occupations most similar to social work, and in this question, almost 11 per cent listed it as an occupation very dissimilar. Both groups of social workers placed engineering and salesmanship at the top of the list. Below that point, there were variations between the two groups of social workers. Of the ten occupations listed with the greatest frequency, only

law and dentistry had been included among the professions and occupations accorded some power to help others.

TABLE VIII

OCCUPATIONS CONSIDERED VERY DISSIMILAR TO SOCIAL WORK

Occupation	Per cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Engineering	25.76	26.25	25.00
Salesmanship	21.97	18.75	26.90
Farming	14.39	11.25	19.20
Scientist	14.39	13.75	15.38
Dentistry	13.64	12.50	15.38
Carpentry	12.88	15.00	9.62
Law	10.61	7.50	15.38
Accounting	8.33	12.50	1.92
Clerical	8.33	7.50	9.62
Architect	7.58	10.00	3.80

Social workers both by their selection of occupations similar and dissimilar to social work associate themselves with service and the more traditional professions and feel that their work is very different from the business world and specialized occupations such as engineering, architecture, science, carpentry, and accounting.

Polansky, in his study of the Detroit social worker, found that

about one half of the workers in his group named medicine and teaching as most similar occupations. Dissimilar occupations were business, factory work, engineering, and so forth.[16]

Occupational Prestige

Attitudes About Social Work as an Occupation.

Perhaps of the variety of roles which engage an individual, the most crucial one for determining general prestige level is the occupational role. The occupational role is important in that it is a factor in determining income, the style of life, and the people with whom one can associate. Warner regards occupation as the most important single determinant of class position in American society.[17]

The prestige of an occupation reflects on the prestige of the person identified with the occupational title. If he has an occupational title which carries a high prestige, he is accorded respect and deference which permits him to see himself as a person of importance and influence. The question of the prestige of social work is a matter of importance to the individual social worker, the social work client, and the social work profession. It may also be stated that the prestige of a profession affects the effectiveness with which the worker offers a

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[16] Ibid.

[17] William Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Wells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 263.

service. The importance of the worker-client relationship (so very important in social work) lies in the fact that as a result of the relationship the worker's actions, attitudes, and opinions exert a measure of influence on the client. The worker is seen as a pattern for emulation and a source of identification. On the other side of this picture is the fact that the level of the prestige of the profession conditions somewhat the effectiveness with which services can be offered to the client. The question of occupational prestige is of importance to the profession of social work because of its consequences for recruitment. Occupational roles in our society, for the most part, are achieved and/or assumed rather than ascribed. People are permitted a choice of occupational roles. Prestigeful occupations have a high positive value and for this reason tend to attract more and better qualified people for entrance into the profession. The opposite will, of course, be true for occupations which are low in prestige.

Prestige of Social Work.

Alfred Kadushin in a recent survey of the studies of occupational prestige has given the following account of findings in these studies.[18] He asks the question, "What empirical evidence exists regarding the relative prestige of the social work profession?" Kadushin says that

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[18]Alfred Kadushin, "Prestige of Social Work--Facts and Factors," Social Work, III (April, 1958), 37-41.

since 1925, when the pioneer study was done by Counts,[19] there have been some 25 published studies here and abroad regarding occupational prestige. Only a limited number of these studies have included social work as one of the occupations listed for examination. (See Appendix D for a list of studies including social work.) In these studies respondents are asked to rank a group of occupations in the order of "their social standing" or in the order in which people engaged in the occupations are "looked-up-to" or "down-to" in the community. The social worker has been listed in a number of ways, e.g., "social worker," "welfare-worker," "government worker," "family welfare worker," and others.

Some general and scattered findings include the following attitudes of people about social work. Women tend to rank social workers higher than do men. Negro respondents accord social work greater prestige than do white respondents. Middle-class students indicate a tendency to rank social work higher than do students of lower-class background. The respondents in some cases showed greater individual variation in ranking social work than they did in ranking most other occupations listed. This would indicate some confusion about the nature of social work and its prestige value since those occupations whose status is least clearly defined give rise to the least definite opinions. Some of these studies attempted to analyze prestige as a complex socio-psychological phenomenon having

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[19] George S. Counts, "The Social Status of Occupations: A Problem in Vocational Guidance," School Review, XXXIII (January, 1925), 16-27.

many components rather than as a single dimension. When this was done, social work was accorded a variety of different rankings. Social work was high on idealism, high on contribution to society, but low on financial returns.

A review of the available research does suggest two general, over-all conclusions. First, the prestige level of social work in the hierarchy of occupations has not as yet been clearly "positioned." In other words, the level of the profession in the traditional structure of occupational prestige relations has not as yet been clearly and firmly crystallized. It seems that social work as a group is more mobile, prestige-wise, at this point in its history than most of the older professions.

Secondly, there is considerable consistency with which social work repeatedly ranks high on the occupational prestige scale of the total range of occupations and among the lowest of the professions listed.

The prestige of social work compares favorably with other traditional women's professions such as teaching, nursing, librarianship, but these occupations have the advantage over social work in the age of the occupation and the extent to which the functions are more clearly understood by the public. Still, on the basis of research available it would appear that, in the image of the public, social work is a minor, if not a marginal profession.[20]

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[20]Kadushin, op. cit., p. 37-41.

Studies concerning the prestige and status of social work have brought to our attention that the persons within the field of social work tend to rate the profession higher than those outside the field. This is often the case in many professions and occupations, and therefore not peculiar to social work.

This study employed the ranking devices used by several others to determine relative prestige. One item on the questionnaire was labeled "Occupational Prestige," and the following instructions were given: Number the following occupations in the order of their "social standing" or in the order in which people engaged in the occupations are "looked-up-to" or "down-to" in the community. (See Table IX for the list of occupations included). Thirteen occupations and professions were given including professions, business, and skilled work.

The findings in this study certainly support a few of the conclusions mentioned above which are based on previous studies. Social workers, even though they rank themselves high in the power to help, seem to be aware of the fact that the community and groups do not recognize this fact. Both groups of social workers in this study placed social work in a position eighth down the list of occupations. It has been known that social work, as one of the newer of the helping professions is at the lower level of the professions, but it is interesting to note that this group placed the banker, the plant executive, and store owner (all three of the business and industrial world) above the social worker. All of the so-called traditional professionals in the group were

acceeded greater prestige than the social worker. These include the doctor, highest on the list; the minister, third; the lawyer, fourth; and the teacher, sixth. Both groups of social workers agreed that the salesman, plant foreman, the secretary, clerical worker, and carpenter all come at the lower end of the scale in that order.

In the relative ranking of occupational prestige both groups of social workers were in agreement about most of the groups included. Certainly they agreed upon the position of the social worker. The NASW members placed the banker high on the list--second and next to the doctor. The DPW workers felt that the minister should have second place. The DPW group placed the minister in a high position in his relative power to help people. The NASW group felt the minister was fourth in relative occupational prestige. The two groups were not in total agreement about the prestige of the lawyer; the NASW placed the lawyer third and the DPW, fourth.

According to social workers, the carpenter was least prestigeful, and secretaries and clerical workers not much above the carpenter. The plant foreman was afforded more prestige than the three groups just mentioned. It is interesting that social workers who must rely upon secretarial and clerical personnel in order to carry out their work placed these groups low in prestige.

The respondents in this study showed greater individual variation in ranking social work than they did in ranking all other occupations listed. Individual variations ranged all the way from one to 13 for

social work. The individual variation for the doctor was one to five. Of course, the writer recognizes that this group of occupations is limited and the ratings are relative.

TABLE IX

SOCIAL WORKER'S RANKING OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

Occupation	Mean Rank			Rank		
	Total	NASW	DPW	Total	NASW	DPW
Doctor	1.65	1.65	1.65	1	1	1
Banker	3.09	2.96	3.28	2	2	3
Minister	3.42	3.79	2.84	3	4	2
Lawyer	3.85	3.57	4.27	4	3	4
Plant Executive	4.85	4.52	5.34	5	5	5
Teacher	6.12	6.38	5.74	6	6	6
Store Owner	6.39	6.52	6.20	7	7	7
Social Worker	7.13	7.09	7.19	8	8	8
Salesman	9.33	9.21	9.67	9	9	10
Plant Foreman	9.40	9.29	9.60	10	10	9
Secretary	10.19	10.17	10.20	11	11	11
Clerical Worker	11.53	11.36	11.80	12	12	12
Carpenter	11.87	11.70	12.00	13	13	13

Polansky and his associates used this occupational prestige device to compare the responses of social workers and students on the relative

prestige of social work. Only ten occupations were used by this group and they included the doctor, lawyer, plant executive, school teacher, store owner, social worker, plant foreman, salesman, clerical worker, and carpenter. The social worker fell sixth in the rank order for both the students and social workers. The social worker who was placed eighth in rank order of this study of thirteen occupations shows a close similarity to the two groups in Polansky's study. It would appear that both social workers in the field as well as persons outside agree that social work occupies a middle range position in the occupational structure.

The prestige of social work based upon the social worker's self-ranking is middle rank in the general occupational scene and low in the professions. Yet, it has been demonstrated that they believe their power to help is great in comparison to other helping professions. This would certainly be a factor in the "complex social climate" in which social workers practice which could result in frustration and insecurity. Then, there must be other elements to compensate for this "status dilemma." This writer recognizes that a study of all such elements would far exceed the purposes of this study, and demand much more intricate research technique and design.

It has been fairly well established in this study that social work is a field of service and professions are service-oriented. Are there some satisfactions in the practice of social work which compensate for this imbalance of prestige factors?

Work Satisfactions

Sociologists have been interested in the satisfactions derived from work. In this study the respondents were asked to check the satisfactions received from work in the order of preference. The question was stated as follows: What do you consider the greatest satisfactions you derive from social work? Number in order of importance. (See Table X). Of the eleven items suggested by the questionnaire both groups of social workers were agreed on the relative desirability of seven of the items. The social workers as a total group agreed that services to troubled people ranked first. This was then the greatest satisfaction of an occupational group with only a medium range prestige. The ideal of service has long been associated with the professions, and even Flexner as early as 1915 argued that social work qualified at least on this criterion of professionalism. Social work had its beginnings in concern for troubled persons and it has retained principles and practices firmly rooted in humanitarianism.

The dual approach in social work services has long beem emphasized as was seen in the survey of the nature and scope of social work. The prevention of individual and social breakdown was the second greatest satisfaction received by social workers in their practice. In these first two items there was agreement between the NASW members and the DPW staff members.

Contact with clients as a satisfaction in social work would

TABLE X

SATISFACTION DERIVED FROM SOCIAL WORK

Satisfaction	Mean Rank			Rank		
	Total	NASW	DPW	Total	NASW	DPW
Services to troubled people	2.27	2.56	1.86	1	1	1
Prevention of individual and social breakdown	2.91	2.91	2.91	2	2	2
Contact with clients	4.22	4.56	3.88	3	4	3
Personal growth as an outgrowth of development in field	4.43	4.79	3.89	4	5	4
Contributions to society	4.54	4.01	5.60	5	3	6
Continuing progress of the profession	5.41	5.78	4.80	6	6	5
Association with colleagues	6.22	5.93	6.70	7	7	7
Training and supervising	6.61	6.11	7.68	8	8	8
Security in employment	7.99	8.02	7.95	9	9	9
Financial returns	8.54	8.30	8.92	10	10	10
Physical setting	9.47	9.35	9.65	11	11	11

probably have ranked higher, but many social workers find themselves in supervisory and executive jobs, and they have no contact with clients at all. In such cases one would not expect this to be a satisfaction even though it could be a desired relationship. In any case, including personnel in all levels of positions, contact with clients appeared to be desired and ranked third on the list. On this item there was a difference in the responses from the two groups. The DPW workers felt that contact with clients ranked third and the separate ranking of the NASW group on this item was fourth. This difference can be explained by the larger number of NASW members who because of training and experience do occupy many executive and supervisory positions. Of course, the DPW supervisory staff participated in a very cooperative manner in this study. However, because of the structure of the State Department of Public Welfare in Texas, the size of the supervisory staff is well-structured and varies with the size of the district and region.[21]

It is of interest to note that the NASW members felt that contribution to society was a real satisfaction as they ranked it third. On the other hand, apparently the DPW group did not believe that social work offers this satisfaction to the same degree.

Ranking fourth as a satisfaction derived from social work was

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[21]The State Department of Public Welfare in Texas is a statewide agency.

personal growth as an outgrowth of development in the field. The NASW did not consider this factor as important as the DPW workers. There was agreement between both groups of social workers on the factors which gave the least satisfaction. Association with colleagues, training and supervising workers, security in employment, financial returns, and physical setting were at the lower level of satisfactions. Social workers felt that the rewards for services to troubled people and prevention of social breakdown were not yet well-balanced with security in employment, financial returns and good physical setting for work. Information such as that displayed in Table X clearly indicates that social workers are professional in the sense that they are people-oriented and not money-oriented. This factor, in turn, contributes to the fact that social work as a profession is service-oriented.

On the questionnaire space was allowed for the respondent to write in satisfactions which he felt had not been included in the checklist. Very few of the respondents made use of this space, but from the few who did some of the comments are interesting.

One woman said that social work is not routine and never boring. By way of enlargement upon her statement, she said, "I have seen tired social workers, but I have never seen a bored social worker." This worker was not new to the field, and she came in the age bracket of 55 to 60 years of age.

Another worker said that association with colleagues was hard to rate honestly because to her it was a satisfaction, but that she mixed

it up with friendship. It is difficult to know why this creates concern for this person, because there seems to be no reason why colleagues should not be friends. In the study it is revealed later that 68 per cent of the social workers list the occupation of their friends as social work--this was the highest percentage in the list of occupations of friends. This same social worker made a comment in relation to financial returns. She said, "As I have no debts or even relatives, accounts perhaps for the low rating on financial returns (11) in importance... and probably again not a very honest one because I have begun to worry about retirement years." This worker came within the age bracket of 60 to 65 years of age, was in the supervisory position and earning near the median salary for the study ($4795).

Another worker made the following statement in reference to financial returns "....too limited for comfort." The worker came within the middle range income bracket but less than the median salary for the group.

One man said that a great satisfaction to him was the "aiding in the discharge of public responsibility to persons in need." In addition to this statement he added that he did not believe that occupational prestige could be ranked. This single man came in the second highest income bracket and was trained as a political scientist. Another satisfaction which was written in was "I derive a sense of doing something well." This middle-aged married woman was trained in social work and received a salary near the median salary above those workers

in this study. These two very contrasting satisfactions add to the already hazy social climate of social work. But others can be added. One respondent ignored the complete list and said his work satisfaction could be summed up in the following statement, "the possibility of helping a child make a life adjustment." This man's comment reflects his specialization in the field of social work. He is engaged in a specialized kind of social work and receives a salary well above the median. Another specific statement of satisfaction from work was the illustration of satisfaction resulting from a method in social work. "I get my greatest satisfaction from seeing volunteers grow in their jobs. My interest is in organization and supervision." This middle-aged single woman holds an executive position and received a salary well above the median salary in this study.

Two written-in statements which are very professional were as follows: "seeing individuals work out satisfactory adjustments to their problems," and "working as a member of a team." As a climax to these statements the writer wishes to use the following statement concerning work satisfactions which came from a young married man in the field. "My strongest interest has always been in people and their problems. I am pleased to be identified with a helping profession. I have no interest in business or engineering. My desire has been to work with people rather than with things."

Summary

A primary factor in any profession is its concept of itself--the image it hopes to project to its members, to those it hopes to recruit as future practitioners, and to the community. This chapter has been an attempt to analyse some aspects of this image as displayed by the empirical data gathered by the questionnaire method and obtained from social workers in the field. This evaluation of the self-image of social work reveals that social workers have a healthy and lofty respect for social work as a helping profession. These social workers ranked themselves second among ten helping professions--medicine ranked first. This response agreed with a response to a similar inquiry made of a group of social workers in another section of the United States in 1952. Social workers really believed that their profession affords them a high degree of power to help people in need. This segment of the self-image does not seem to be in agreement with the manner in which social workers rank the relative prestige of social work in the general occupational scene. This group of social workers ranked their own profession as eighth in a group of thirteen occupations. In a similar study in 1952, social workers ranked social work as sixth in a selected group of ten occupations, and this position agreed with students outside the field who also ranked the same occupations. These social workers listed as occupations most similar to social work the ministry, teaching, and medicine. Social workers seemed

to agree more on the professions which they consider similar to social work than those which are dissimilar. A long list of occupations was considered dissimilar, but those listed with greatest frequency were engineering, salesmanship, farming, science, and dentistry. It appears that social workers both by their selection of occupations similar and dissimilar to social work associated themselves with service and the more traditional professions. They felt their work was very different from the business world.

Since it does seem that social workers identify their work situation in terms of service, this is in agreement with the first finding in this chapter, which was that social workers feel that social work provides them with the power to help people. These two findings are also in agreement with the fact that social workers believe that the greatest satisfaction derived from their work is service to troubled people, contact with clients, and prevention of individual and social breakdown. Work satisfactions ranked very low by the social workers are financial return, physical setting, and employment security.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND PROFILE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

Chapter VIII was a discussion of social work, and this chapter will be concerned with the social worker. The topics which are covered in this chapter are salaries in social work, a woman's occupation, education and training, and the social background of the social worker.

Salaries

Social work is generally regarded as a poorly paid profession. It is obvious that this is by comparison with other professions, rather than a question of being able to maintain a satisfactory standard of living..

The 1950 Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed some significant differences with respect to social work salaries. There were regional differences with respect to social work salaries--the highest average of $3,320 was in the Pacific states, the lowest, $2490, was in the Southeast. Generally men received higher salaries than women in each position. Federal Government workers received the highest salaries, private agency workers the next, and the local county and state governmental employees the lowest.[1] The Bureau of Labor

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[1]Maxine G. Stewart, "The Economic Status of Social Workers," Social Work Journal, XXXII (April, 1951), 53-55.

Statistics estimates that state, county, and local governments employ over 62 per cent of the nation's social workers, private agencies about 35 per cent, while the Federal government employs about three per cent.[2]

Only in the national agencies are uniform salaries found throughout the country. The Veteran's Administration, through the civil service system, has a salary plan which pays the same salary to beginning social workers in VA hospitals in the Southeast as on the West Coast, provided the social workers have the same amount of training, same experience, and background.

What are the trends in social work salaries? The one comprehensive nationwide study of salaries was that of the BLS, which gathered information on actual salaries paid in 1950. National voluntary agencies periodically collect salary data from their local affiliates. But the wide variety of educational background and training required, the lack of standardization of job titles and duties, and the fact that all national agencies do not collect salary information annually, make it difficult to obtain comparable salary data in the social work field. However, an examination of selected salary data available for 1950 and 1954 throws some light on trends.[3]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Social Work Education (New York: Council on Social Work Education), Vol. II, No. 3, p. 3.

In 1950 according to a study by the Council on Social Work Education, the median salary for the public assistance worker was $2,040; in 1954 it was $2,760--a 35 per cent increase. For the New York City Department of Welfare the figures were $3,425 in 1950 and $4,000 in 1954--a 16 per cent increase. The median salary for child welfare workers in 1950 was $2,304 and in 1954 the median was $3,000--a 24 per cent increase.[4] In 1950 the median beginning salary for caseworkers in member agencies of the Family Service Association of America was $2,700 and in 1954 it was $3,350--a 24 per cent increase. In 1950 the beginning salary for VA social workers was $4,205 and as of 1955 it was $4,525 which is an increase of eight per cent.

Salaries in other positions, supervisor and executive, also were reported as showing proportionate increases of 20 to 30 per cent since 1950. No comparable data for the same years are available for public recreation executives although partial studies in 1952 and in 1955 indicated an increase.[5]

According to the study by Norman Polansky and others previously mentioned, the income of persons engaged in social work in Detroit presented some contrasts and variations to the BLS study. The median salary for professional services of social workers studied was $411 per

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[4]Louise N. Mumm, "The Personnel of Social Welfare," Social Work Year Book, (National Association of Social Workers, 1957), pp. 400-401.

[5]Ibid.

month or about $4,900 per year. Excluding retired workers and members of religious orders, the total range in income was from $1,680 to $10,800. Half of the group earned between $3,720 and $5,592. The average monthly income of the Detroit production workers in November, 1950 when this study was begun was $341 or about $4,000 annually. Although the figures showed that the average social worker made approximately one-fourth more than the average production worker, they were merely indicative for the present purposes. The point at which income might be said to have reached the "middle-class" range was, of course, completely indeterminate without a major study of the total Detroit community. However, there are data which imply that the economic discrepancy between social workers and production workers might be much larger than twenty-five per cent.

This sample included a group of seventeen men and fifty-eight women. Altogether twenty-nine of the women were, or had been, married. From the standpoint of salaries, it was found that twenty-nine single women had a median salary of $4,200 annually; four single men, a median of $3,650; twenty-one married women, a median salary of $4,550; twelve married men, a median of $6,600. This study revealed that as compared with the average Detroit family, these social workers were in a position to maintain an above-average standard of living, although it might be noted that it was not true of all of them.[6]

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[6] Ibid.

On the other hand, these social workers' earnings were only a fraction of those of physicians--a group with whom many social workers associate and with whom they often identify professionally. According to the Office of Business Economics of the Commerce Department, the average American physician earned, in 1951, $12,518 net before taxes. In the same year the average lawyer earned $9,375; the average dentist, $7,743. Only the most highly paid professional social workers even approached the earnings of the average lawyer or physician.

According to Laughton, the median salary paid Texas workers in the social welfare field in 1955 was approximately $3,800 annually.[7] It has been already noted that full-time social welfare workers throughout the country had a median income from their employment in 1950 of $2,960. The Texas salaries five years later averaged 28 per cent higher. This is very near the increase reported in public welfare agencies throughout the country four years after the 1950 survey. The public welfare agencies reported an average increase of 30 per cent.[8] Scattered data indicate there was a 20 to 25 per cent rise in private agency salaries throughout the United States during this same period.[9]

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[7]Charles Laughton, Staffing Social Services in Texas, (Austin: University of Texas, 1957), p. 46.

[8]"Salaries for Selected Professional Positions in Public Welfare Agencies," Social Work Education, June, 1955, p. 13.

[9]"Salaries in Voluntary Social Work Agencies," Social Work Education, June, 1955, p. 32.

Thus, it appeared that in 1955 the median Texas salary compared reasonably well with the national average for such positions. It is indicated that there was some substantial gain in the real earnings for social welfare workers in Texas and other areas as well during the five year period.

However, the relative income level of social workers in Texas does not compare favorably with other groups. According to Laughton, "the approximate median earning of $73.00 per week for all such employees in 1955, including supervisory, administrative, and consultative personnel as well as practitioners, did not quite match the average weekly paycheck of $75.78 for the production and related workers in Texas manufacturing concerns."[10] According to the Texas study, the average wage of production workers in eight out of fifteen large manufacturing industries in Texas was higher than the median income for Texas social welfare workers. By way of further comparison, Laughton pointed out that Texas social welfare workers' salaries compared unfavorably with those of many college graduating seniors. Northwestern University revealed that the starting salaries of their graduates in the following fields in 1956 were: salesmen, $370; accountants, $372; and engineers, $415. The overall average for all graduates was $383.

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[10]Laughton, op. cit., p. 47.

In connection with salaries Laughton found that social welfare salaries more nearly approached those paid in fields largely employing women.[11] Public classroom teachers in Texas with no experience received in 1955 an average salary of $2805 immediately upon graduation from college, and professionally trained nurses throughout the country had a median starting salary range of $2,800 to $3,000.[12] But, certainly recent trends both in teaching and nursing are toward higher salaries.

Laughton presents another very interesting observation from his Texas survey in 1955:

> There is less of a salary differential between men and women employed in Texas social welfare agencies than found in employment generally or even in other salaried professional positions. Men earned salaries 85 per cent higher than those obtained by women in all civilian employment in the United States in 1954. Salaries were two-thirds larger for men than for women in salaried professional positions. Within the social welfare field in Texas, male practitioners earn but 6 per cent more than women in such positions. Men in other types of social welfare employment have incomes 23 per cent larger than women who are non-practitioners. Thus, the important principle of equal pay for equal work as it relates to sex seems more closely met in the field of social welfare than in many other areas of employment. Comparison with earning possibilities in other fields indicates, however, that social welfare salaries are thereby less attractive for men than they are for women.[13]

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 48.

The median salary of $3,800 represents salaries for all social welfare workers in 1955. As in any single figure many important variations may be concealed. The public assistance workers in general are the poorest paid, but there are some categories of case-work and group work agencies which are found in the lowest income range. Laughton's Texas study displays that of the social welfare workers receiving under $2,000 in 1955 most of them were employed by group work agencies and casework agencies other than public assistance.[14]

Scattered findings from these three studies of salaries at three different levels and in three different years have been included to give some background for findings concerning social work salaries in this study. As would be expected, the picture of social work salaries is much improved over that of 1950, 1952, and 1955. (See Table XI). Seven respondents listed no salary, as they were permanently or temporarily retired from the field. These individuals were, of course, members of the NASW group who continued as members of the professional association even though not employed at the time of the study.

The median salary for the group was $4,795 as compared to the $3800 in 1955. This represents a 26.2 per cent increase from 1955 to 1959. The DPW median salary in this study was $4,295 and the public assistance agencies' median salary in 1955 was $3,573. This represents

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[14] Ibid., p. 49.

a 20 per cent increase for the workers in the Department of Public Welfare. Information for national increase is not available for comparison.

TABLE XI

SALARIES OF DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS IN 1959

	Total		NASW		DPW	
Salary	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
$10,000 and over	7	5.30	7	8.75	--	----
8,000 - 9,999	8	6.06	8	10.00	--	----
7,500 - 7,999	3	2.27	3	3.75	--	----
6,500 - 7,499	16	12.12	16	20.00	--	----
6,000 - 6,499	9	6.82	9	11.25	--	----
5,500 - 5,999	10	7.56	8	10.00	2	3.85
5,000 - 5,499	5	3.79	4	5.00	1	1.92
4,500 - 4,999	11	8.33	7	8.75	4	7.69
3,500 - 4,499	49	37.12	8	10.00	41	78.84
2,500 - 3,499	7	5.30	3	3.75	4	7.69
No Income	7	5.30	7	8.75	--	----
Median salary	$4795		$6361		$4295	
Other Income	59	44.70	33	41.23	26	50.00

But the relative increase in the last five years in Texas social work salaries appears to be somewhat less than those indicated in Laughton's survey of the previous five years. The employed social workers

included in the current study received no salary less than $2500, and there were only seven workers whose salaries fell in the bracket of $2,500 - $3,499 (5.3 per cent of the total number). This is a definite improvement upon the report in 1955 where 1.6 per cent of the social welfare workers in Texas received salaries under $2,000.[15] Actually in the 1955 Texas survey, 9.3 per cent of the social workers received salaries of less than $3,000. Table XI shows the number and per cent of workers in each salary bracket for the total number of social workers and for the DPW workers and the members of NASW included in this study.

There are some significant differences in the two groups of social workers. The median for the NASW group is $6,361 as compared to the median, already mentioned for the DPW workers, which is $4,295. The largest single concentration for any single salary bracket is 49 people or 37 per cent in the salary range of $3,500 to $4,499 for the total population. Of the staff members in the DPW regional office, 41 or 78.8 per cent were in the same bracket. However, the number of NASW members in this salary range totaled eight persons or ten per cent. The largest single concentration in the NASW group was 16 people, or 20 per cent, who were included in the salary range $6,500 to $7,499. Even this was above the median for that group. In general, the DPW workers showed a much smaller spread in salary

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[15] Ibid.

range, which might represent the homogeneity of a group of workers all employed by a statewide agency with somewhat standardized personnel practices and well-defined functions. The fifty-two DPW workers in this study constitute 39.4 per cent of the total social workers included in the study. Laughton in his study reported that about one-third of the total welfare workers in Texas were employed by the State Department of Public Welfare.[16] The current study, then, is slightly skewed with 39.4 per cent of the population employed by the State Department of Public Welfare. The wide range of salaries among the NASW members is probably influenced by the range of positions, the types of agencies, and functions of the agencies.

Recently the NASW has recommended that a national salary policy be initiated by social agencies throughout the country. The entrance salary for the trained social worker is $5,400.[17] The median salary for the professional social worker in this group is $6,361.

Observations may be made regarding salaries with respect to sex. In the section above the three median salaries were quoted. One, $4795, was for the group as a whole; the NASW median was $6361 as compared to $4295 for the DPW workers. When the questionnaires of male respondents were tabulated, the median for the total was $6930

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[16] Ibid., p. 15.

[17] "Social Work Adopts Official Salary Policy," NASW News, Vol. 4, No. 2, February, 1959, p. 1.

and the median for the NASW males was $7,625. The nine men employed in the DPW office fell into two salary categories. Eight men earned between $3,500 and $4,499, and the other male employee earned between $2,500 and $3,400 - a median of $4,160.

For the female respondents in the study the median salary was lower than the men. The median for the total women respondents was $4,650, for the NASW, $5,812; and for the DPW, $4,100. This followed the typical pattern of higher salaries for men. Of course, there are factors other than sex which enter into this situation of differential salaries. Several writers have discussed these facts and factors. This writer would like to note a few unique facts about this group of social workers in regard to salaries. The lowest salary bracket checked was $2,500 to $3,499. Four women and two men were included in this salary range. At the top of the salary range--the top one being $10,000 and above--four men and three women so classified their salaries. These seven social workers were all members of NASW. Of the three women, two occupied executive positions in regional offices of the Federal government agencies. The third woman was a private practicing social worker. These three women ranged in age from 47 to 56. One was married and two were single.

The four male respondents checking the salary range of $10,000 and above were all married and ranged in age from 34 to 62 years. Three men occupied executive positions with local agencies; and one man was a field consultant with an agency of the Federal government.

It appears that in this group, even though the median salary was lower for women, both men and women in approximately the same number received the lowest and highest salaries.

A Sales Management Survey of buying power was made in Texas cities of over 25,000 recently (May 10, 1959). This survey showed that Dallas was seventh from the highest in effective buying income per household. The figure for Dallas was $6,259, which was higher than the amount for the state. The Texas average was $5,602 and the national average was $6,005.[18] Effective buying income may be influenced by factors other than salaries. However, the average social worker in Dallas has an over-all median salary of less than the average effective buying income per household for Dallas. The members of the professional organization, of course, compare more favorably with buying income.

The respondents in this study were asked to indicate if they had other income. The type and amount of income was not requested. The effective buying income per household is often increased because two persons are employed and earning salaries. Individuals might also have income not related to salary--e.g. money from rentals, leases, pensions, endowments, and other forms of inheritance and investments.

Fifty-nine social workers in this group received some kind of other income. This was 45 per cent of the entire group. Twenty-six

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[18] Denton Record-Chronicle, June 7, 1959.

of 50 per cent of the DPW staff members indicated that salaries were supplemented by some other income. Thirty-three, or 41 per cent of the NASW members indicated additional income.

Female-Dominated Profession: Age and Sex

Traditionally social work has been a field in which women numerically predominate. In 1950 nearly seventy per cent of all positions were filled by women. Kadushin in his article has suggested that the professional role of the social worker is, in a large measure, an extension of the traditional female functions of nurturing and support and the traditional female concern with children and family.[19] Women are not generally accorded the same prestige in the occupational world as are men. Salary differentials in favor of the male and the more rapid advancement of men against the competition of women of equal, or greater, ability substantiate this statement.[20] There seems to prevail in this country a tendency to resist the free entrance of women into occupations dominated by and controlled by males and to derogate occupations dominated by women. The prestige of social work is, therefore, adversely affected because it is identified as a woman's profession.

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[19]Alfred Kadushin, "Prestige of Social Work--Facts and Factors," Social Work, III (April, 1958), 40.

[20]Helen R. Wright, "Employment of Graduates of the School of Social Service Administration," Social Service Review, XXI (September, 1947), 316-330.

Almost three out of four supervisors in the casework and group work fields are women. About one-half the executives are women, and two out of three in teaching, research, and consultant positions are women. However, the picture may change in the future. Full-time enrollment in the schools of social work for 1955-1956 showed a ratio of one man to two women. Over the past few years the gradual increase in the number of male students forecasts a higher percentage of men in social work.[21]

The population of social workers is not only dominated by females, but it is an older group. The average age of all social welfare workers in the 1950 national study was 40 years. Age increased in direct ratio to the level of responsibility; caseworkers and group workers averaged 37 years, their supervisors, 44, and executives, 46 years. These 1950 facts are supported in a 1955 study of age and sex in the positions of the beginning worker called "social investigator" and assistant supervisor in the New York City Department of Welfare. Over one-half (52 per cent) of all social investigators were under 35 years of age; 25 per cent between 36 and 45; 17 per cent from 46 to 55, and ten per cent over 55. Of the assistant supervisors, six per cent were under 35; 41 per cent between 36 and 45; 42 per cent between 46 and 55; and 11 per cent over 55. Only 68 male social investigators were over 55 years

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[21] Council on Social Work Education, Statistics in Social Work Education, November 1, 1955 and Academic Year 1954-1955, p. 11.

of age; 262 women were over 55 years of age. The same ratio of one man to four women also prevailed in the position of assistant supervisor.[22]

Charles Laughton, in his survey of social welfare personnel in 1955, found women constituted the majority within each of the categories except in supervisory, administrative, and consultative positions.[23] Laughton expresses real concern about the profession's dependency upon women in the professional labor market. Women are now entering many fields which were at one time not available to women. Other matters of real concern enumerated by Laughton include the following:

> (1) the fact that 60 per cent of college graduates are men; (2) the knowledge that fewer women than men proceed beyond the bachelor's degree into graduate education; (3) the observation that only about one-half of the women college graduates in this country currently are in the labor market; and, (4) the fact that the two largest professional fields of employment--nursing and education--currently are in short supply...[24]

A brief description of the age and sex distribution in this study was reported in Chapter I (See Tables II and III). It is obvious that this group of respondents was predominantly women. One hundred and two respondents, or 77 per cent, were women and 30 or 23 per cent were

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[22]Louise M. Mumm, op. cit., p. 395.

[23]Laughton, op. cit., p. 23.

[24]Ibid., pp. 24-25.

men. This distribution does not vary greatly from the estimate of the proportion of women in social work at the national level and in several other studies already mentioned. A check on those in this social work population who did not respond showed that about 25 per cent were men and about 75 per cent were women.

In this study there were four social workers over 70 years of age. They were women and all retired from the field, but still active in the professional association. Three women ranging in age from 65 to 69 were employed in social work: One woman was a member of the DPW staff, and two were NASW members. There were no men of this age group. In the age group of 60 to 64 years there were eight women; two were members of NASW and six were employees of DPW. In this age group there were two men from the NASW group. In the age bracket of 55 to 59 years, there were 17 women and one man. This age group of women was almost equally distributed between the two groups of social workers; nine were members of the DPW staff and eight were members of the association. The one man in this age group was a member of NASW. Going down the age groupings, 25 respondents were included in the ages of 50 to 54 years. The 20 women in this group represented 12 who were members of the DPW staff and eight who were members of the NASW. The five men in this group interestingly enough were concentrated in the DPW group. Four of the five men ranged from 50 to 54 years of age, and they were the oldest men employed in the DPW office. There was one male member of NASW in this age bracket.

The middle range of ages--from 30 to 50 years--presented some observations worth mentioning. The median age for the women as a whole fell slightly above 50 years of age, while the median age for the DPW female employees fell at 52.7 years. The median for the female members of NASW which was 47.7 brought down the median age group for women as a whole. This particular finding seems in a sense to reflect Laughton's statement that, "the median age of Texas social workers would more clearly resemble that of the country's employees if it were not for the substantial number of older workers--mostly women--in public assistance programs."[25]

There were twenty-two in the age bracket of 45 to 49 years; seven were men and 15 were women. All seven men and 11 women were members of the NASW while four women were employees of the DPW. Only eight persons, seven women and one man fell into the age group of 40 to 44 years. Table III indicates some numerical similarity in the next three age brackets; thirteen or 9.8 per cent in the group 35 to 39; 10 or 7.6 per cent in the group 25 to 29 years of age. Percentage-wise the largest number of the total group, which was 25 or 18.9 per cent, fell in the age group of 50 to 54 years. There were fewer men from the standpoint of number and per cent in the DPW group than in the NASW. It is demonstrated by the figures above that the DPW women employees as a group are older than others included in the group. The age

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[25] Ibid., p. 26.

distribution of this group also indicated that there are some young workers. Five women and two men were under 30 years of age. When compared to the NASW, which is a larger group, exactly the same number (seven) members were under 30, and they were all women. These younger employees represented almost entirely the staff of the Child Welfare Division of the local regional office. There were no men in the NASW group under 30 years of age.

These observations on the young persons in the field give rise to some questions concerning recruitment for the field. Is the professional association meeting its responsibility in attracting and bringing to the field young people when only seven persons, or 8.7 per cent, are people under 30 years of age, and these were all women? The State Department of Public Welfare has succeeded in recruiting seven young people both men and women for the field. The percentage of the young people now in this field of public welfare represents 13.4 per cent of the DPW respondents. The writer is aware of the difference in professional requirement from the standpoint of training and experience between those who qualify for membership in the professional association and those who are eligible for employment in the State Department of Public Welfare. This situation which young people going into the field must face is part of the status "dilemma" so much talked about today. If the social work profession continues to accept the fact that social work methods and practice stem from the ideal of humanitarianism and an altruistic service to people, would this not include the public welfare

worker? The social work profession, which certainly makes its appeal to both men and women, still seems to rely to a large degree upon women to fill the large array of unfilled and vacated positions. Many young women upon graduation from college find additional years of training and experience essential for professional recognition very difficult to combine with marriage and the responsibilities of the early years of marriage. The age characteristics of social workers presented in this study demonstrate that many women enter the field late in life, and those who have positions which do not require professional training are content to render a service in a position which is not considered fully professional by the generally accepted criteria of professionalism.

In summary, it has been reported that 77 per cent of the social workers included in this study were women--a figure slightly above but comparing favorably with the national survey and other studies. Not only are there more women in the field, but the women are older in general. The median age for the total group of women in the study was 50.4 years; for NASW women, 47.7 years; and for the DPW group, 52.7 years. The median age for the total of men was 45 years. The median was slightly higher for the male members of NASW with a figure of 45.3 years. Only nine men were employed by the regional office of the DPW, all under 54 years of age; four in the age bracket of 50 to 54 years; one between 40 and 45 years, and four under 30 years of age.

These age and sex characteristics of social workers may in part explain some elements of the present occupational prestige of social work. This social work population even in a more accentuated way supports the association made by the general public of social work with women's professions. Women in general tend to come into the field earlier and stay longer than men.

Education and Training

It has already been established in this study that competence based upon education and experience is basic to the professional status. Also, the nature of social work education has been thoroughly discussed in Chapter V on the Systematic Body of Theory. It is generally agreed that social work training has successfully completed the transformation from the apprenticeship type of training to the professional education offered in the academic setting. Specialized graduate training in the United States has been offered about sixty years, and the schools of social work have experienced great change and progress. A more or less standardized professional curriculum is assured through the process of accreditation.

The respondents to the questionnaire used in this study answered several items concerning their educational background. Table XII presents the number of social workers with the amount of their graduate training.

TABLE XII

EXTENT OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION OF DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS IN 1959

Professional Education	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
MSW degree	48	36.3	47	58.7	1	1.9
Two years	2	1.5	1	1.2	1	1.9
Diploma	2	1.5	1	1.2	1	1.9
One year	15	11.4	13	16.3	2	3.8
One semester	5	3.8	2	2.5	3	5.8
Less than one semester	1	0.8	1	1.2	-	---
None	59	44.7	15	18.8	44	87.4

Some facts from this table present interesting differences in the two groups being studied as well as a general picture of the training. Of the total group of social workers only 48 or 36.3 per cent have the MSW (Master of Social Work) degree. Only one worker in the DPW group held the professional degree. Of the NASW group, 47 or 58.7 per cent, reported that they held the professional degree in social work. At one time the one year certificate or one year of graduate training was considered at least a minimum of professional training; but only 15 or 11.4 per cent of this total group of social workers had obtained at least one year of graduate training in social work. Thirteen of this number were NASW members, and two were members of the DPW staff. Fifty-nine

or 45 per cent of the 132 social workers in this study had no graduate training. Forty-four of the 59 were staff members of the DPW where graduate training is not required for employment. However, 15 or 18.8 per cent of the NASW members indicated they had no training in social work at the graduate level. The educational attainment for this group as a whole is neither gloomy nor bright, but it does reveal a profession in which only 36.3 per cent of its practitioners are fully trained. Excluding the public welfare workers as practitioners, there is still a group of professionals manifested by their membership in NASW who do not meet the present educational prerequisite for professional practice. These professional social workers who have not attained graduate social work training can in part be explained by the fact that educational requirements for membership in the profession have not always been as high and rigid as they are now; and many social workers with no professional training, but with rich backgrounds in experience and apprenticeship type of training were admitted to the association. Another explanation of this situation results from the merging of the several different professional organizations in social work. Before the establishment of the NASW, which is now the single professional association, there were several specialized professional associations--each with its own standards for membership. A few of these specialized organizations held very high standards; some over and above the basic requirements for the American Association of Social Workers. Others of these specialized professional associations held

requirements not as high as the AASW. The American Association of Group Workers did not require formal education beyond the Bachelor's degree. Beyond that, training in group agencies was often of the in-service and apprenticeship type of learning. A minute examination of this population showed that several members of the NASW were in the field of group work.

One additional observation about the graduate social work training of this group of social workers is encouraging. Of the 72 social workers who listed some graduate training, 64 per cent of them hold degrees in graduate social work. Charles Laughton in his survey in Texas reported only 53.9 per cent of those with graduate training held basic professional degrees.[26] The Dallas social workers in comparison with those in all of Texas have a greater percentage of practitioners with graduate professional training. Of course, there is another factor which probably has contributed to this difference, and that is the increase in the number of professionally trained social workers in the last five years--the span of time between these two studies.

The background for undergraduate education of the social workers included in this study is shown in Table XIII. Of the total 132 respondents, 113 or 85.6 per cent had received a bachelor's degree. This tabulation includes the various types of degrees, e.g. Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, and specialized degrees at the Bachelor's level.

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[26] Laughton, op. cit., p. 29.

TABLE XIII

UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION OF DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS IN 1959 BY YEARS

Undergraduate Education	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Bachelor's Degree	113	85.6	76	95.0	37	71.5
3 years	5	3.7	--	---	5	9.5
2 years	7	5.4	--	---	7	13.3
1 year	--	---	--	---	--	---
None	3	2.2	1	1.3	2	3.8
No answer	4	3.1	3	3.7	1	1.9

Seventy-six persons or 95.0 per cent of the NASW group indicated they held bachelor's degrees. Only one person in this group checked none. The three "no answers" probably were persons with degrees because all three were included among those who had graduate degrees in social work. Thirty-seven or 71 per cent of the DPW staff members held bachelor's degrees. Seven of this group reported two years of college education; five indicated three years in college; two answered none, and there was one who did not answer. This is a remarkably high educational background for a group of public welfare employees. Charles Laughton reports that of all of the positions in public assistance agencies in Texas in 1955, 91.2 per cent required less than a college degree as minimum

educational prerequisites.[27] In the same report, Laughton indicated that 31.2 per cent of employees in all agencies were without college degrees; in public assistance there were 51.5 per cent.[28] In the current study only 29 per cent of the DPW staff members in Dallas held less than a bachelor's degree. Only 14.5 per cent of the entire group of social workers in this study held less than the college degree. The public welfare workers in Dallas had a much higher undergraduate education than is held as prerequisite for most of the public welfare positions.

The social workers were asked to indicate the major area of study at the undergraduate level. As many as twenty-nine subject areas were mentioned. Because of this wide scatter in subject areas, only those which were most frequently listed are included here. The undergraduate major subjects were English with 26; Sociology, 25; Education, 19; Psychology, 17; and Social Science, 9. All subjects which were checked less than five times are not included here. Three people listed social work as their undergraduate major subject. Any real statistical value of this type of listing is complicated by the fact that a few people listed double majors or a change in major during college training. At any rate, this material in general indicates that social workers from many fields of undergraduate college education go into social work practice. However,

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[27] Ibid., p. 17.

[28] Ibid., p. 33.

the majority of social workers indicated that their college major subjects were social and psychological sciences and the humanities. The physical and biological sciences, business and commercial subjects were at the bottom of the list.

Several respondents from both groups of social workers reported that they had graduate training in areas other than in social work. Twenty-six persons indicated that they held the Master of Arts, the Master of Science, or the Master of Education in subjects other than social work. Six persons holding master's degrees were among the DPW staff members, and 20 were NASW members. Thirteen of the Master's degrees were in the field of education. Other subjects mentioned were psychology, political science, educational administration, physical education, counseling, personnel, sociology, social administration, and mathematics. Twelve social workers reported that they had both the MSW and a Master's degree in another subject.

The social workers also had some specialized training in such fields as nursing, theological seminary, business courses, library service, commercial art, and private training in voice. Other types of degrees held by some of these respondents were the Ll.B. and B.D.

This brief survey of the educational background of the Dallas social workers displays a foundation of college education higher than for social workers in Texas. The specialized social work training is gaining in importance as indicated by the fact that the percentage of social workers with graduate degrees has also increased since 1955. The undergraduate

major interest of social work practitioners varies widely, but mainly, this study shows that social workers have a college background in the social and psychological sciences and the humanities. Social workers brought to their practice advanced training in other areas as evidenced by the 26 who held degrees at the Master's level in other fields.

Social Background of Social Workers

Several devices have been employed to determine the social class membership of individuals and the factors which determine the class position of the people and group. Through several years of study, outstanding sociologists and others have been interested in social classes and social stratification. The material in this study is primarily an attempt to present the social worker not only as a member of an occupational group, but as a part of a group in society which is more than an occupation. What kind of people are social workers? Who are their friends? In what kind of community were they reared? What kind of people do they marry, and so forth? Is there a distinctive style of life for those in the social work profession?

There is not an abundance of material available from the limited studies which have been made on the social class membership of the social workers. One study has approached this investigation by making a survey of the intimate associates of social workers.[29] This study

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[29]Polansky and others, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

made use of Lloyd Warner's tool that "the company one keeps" is one determinant of social class. One's family connections is one way to determine many intimate associations of the individual. From what types of families do social workers come? (The materials for this study were gathered through an interview survey of a random sample of members of the four associations of professional social workers in Detroit). From this sample persons interviewed ranged from 33 to 48 years. From the sample of 75, two persons were reared on farms and five in rural settlements of less than 2,500 population. It was found that the younger workers were more likely to be drawn from an urban environment. Thirty-nine persons in the sample were reared in cities of over a half-million population. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers aged 44 and under came from communities of over 50,000 population.

The worker was asked to mark his father's income in relation to his community during the time the worker was in his teens. The results were as follows: 27 per cent placed their father's income as having been in the upper third of the community; 65 per cent, in the middle third; and only eight per cent in the lower third.

From these figures one gets a picture of a group which has in general had considerable economic security during their younger years. A middle class background was further brought out through the examination of a breakdown of paternal occupations. Over two-thirds of the social workers placed fathers' occupations in the top two occupational

classifications: I, professional and semi-professional, and II, proprietors, managers, and officials. This study quotes, "an over-all impression that we are dealing with offspring of 'substantial members of the community' is further borne out by the added information that 80 per cent of the workers' parents were enrolled members of some church."[30] In this study occupations of siblings and current neighbors were also analyzed and yielded similar results. It is interesting to compare these findings with data showing the occupational distribution of all employed workers in the "Detroit Standard Metropolitan Area" according to the 1950 census. Only 18 per cent of all employed workers fall into the top three categories, while 27 per cent are "operatives and kindred workers." The authors of this study felt that they had further support of the picture which has been drawn above which was obtained from data of the kinds of groups into which these workers married. Of 27 married women on whom data were available, twelve were married to professional and semi-professional workers; seven to proprietors, managers, and officials; and four of the remaining eight to clerical, sales, and kindred workers. The pattern for married males was the same in terms of wives' pre-housewife occupations. In summary, the families and associates of this group of social workers appear to fall predominantly into the white-collar technical and executive occupational classes. Relatively few have had direct personal experience with economic deprivation in their own

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[30] Ibid.

homes. On the contrary, about one-fourth derive from the upper income levels of their communities.[31]

Of course, no generalizations can be drawn from one study, but findings of this nature suggest that some very pertinent information concerning the changing nature of social work might be uncovered.

Self-Estimate of Social Position in Community.

In the current study, an adaptation of the Centers social groupings was used.[32] One item used originally by Centers, "Don't believe in social class," was omitted in this study. This writer felt that the person who did not believe in social classes would not respond to the question in the first place. The social workers in Dallas present some interesting variations from the findings of other studies. One must be aware of the fact that the respondents in this group are all from the same general occupational group, and this population of social workers represents a high percentage of women. There is also a wide distribution of ages, even though the mean age for the group is 44.7. In 1959 the Dallas social workers, by their self-estimate of their social position in the community, indicated their identification with the middle class. (See Table XIV) Of the total group, 74.2 per cent believed they were in a middle class position. However, there was a great difference in the two groups of

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949) p. 76-86.

social workers. The NASW group were much agreed upon their middle class status-- as 83.75 per cent of them claimed middle class identification. Ten per cent of this group felt that they were members of the upper class, and 3.7 per cent (three people) felt they were working people. There were two "no answers," and one person checked "don't know." Certainly, 75 people out of 80 in this group placed themselves in the upper and middle classes. These respondents represented the professional social worker.

TABLE XIV

SELF-ESTIMATE OF SOCIAL POSITION IN COMMUNITY BY DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS IN 1959

	Per Cent		
Position	Total	NASW	DPW
Upper Class	14.39	10.00	23.10
Middle Class	74.24	83.75	59.60
Working Class	8.33	3.75	15.40
Lower Class	-----	-----	-----
Don't Know	0.75	1.25	-----
No answer	2.27	2.50	1.90

A different array of responses came from the staff members of the DPW office. Twenty-three per cent of the DPW group checked their social class position in the community as upper class, while 59.6 per cent by their self-estimate, believed they belonged to the middle class; however,

15.4 per cent indicated that they were working class people. There was one "no answer" from this group.

The following table (Table XV) compares the responses of the Dallas social workers with the Detroit social workers and Centers' "Professionals." The writer readily recognized the comparability of these responses for the three groups is far from perfect. Two main factors which influence the comparison are the difference in the time in which the three studies were made and the nature of personnel included in the samples. Centers study was made in 1946; the Detroit

TABLE XV

COMPARISON OF CLASS IDENTIFICATION RESPONSES OF DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS WITH DETROIT SOCIAL WORKERS AND CENTERS' "PROFESSIONALS"

		Per Cent					
Occupation	Number	Upper Class	Middle Class	Working Class	Lower Class	Don't Know	Don't Believe in Class
Dallas Social Workers	132	14	74	8	--	1	3 (no answer)
*Detroit Social Workers	75	4	83	8	4	1	--
Centers' "Professional"	73	4	81	10	--	1	4

*Source: Polansky and others, op. cit.

survey in 1952, and the Dallas inquiry in 1959. Male professionals were used in Centers' study; only members (a sample) of the Detroit Chapter

of the National Association of Social Workers were included; and all members of two groups of social workers (already described) were used in the current study. The respondents of these three groups seem to be in less agreement on the upper and lower social class identification. But the three groups seem agreed upon the fact that professionals are middle class and not lower class. The middle class covers a wide range of work situations and is much more difficult to define. But if identification with the middle class is a factor in prestige, the social workers certainly by their own self-estimate assign prestige through this middle class identification.

Even though the responses from the respondents in the current study agree in a general sense that social workers are primarily middle class, there is enough difference in the responses of the two groups in this study to give rise to some questions. Twenty-three per cent of the social workers in the DPW Regional Office are upper class as compared with 10 per cent of the NASW members. Does this mean that employees of the DPW feel that this occupation is terminal and social status is not so much influenced by occupation as other factors? Are these workers compensating for the lack of occupational prestige by self-estimate of social position in the community? Would the high percentage of women in the DPW group be a factor in this high upper-class identification? The research design for this study is not elaborate enough to answer these and many other questions. "Self-identification is a complex of man's basic inter-personal experiences, the ideas he has been exposed to, and his

traits of personality which enable him to organize his experiences and ideas in a manner most congenial to him."[33] "It is probably true that the most important single experience he has in this complex flows from his occupation. But occupation is only part of the total complex."[34] The way the person interprets his experiences including those in his occupation is influenced by his ideology, and that in turn is influenced by his education, family background, and so on.[35]

Education of the group of social workers in this study has already been described. The respondents were then asked for some information concerning family background. Social position is influenced by the size of the community in which one is reared.

The present economic and class status of an individual is in part an indicator of the individual's social position. But because of the rapid movement of people to the city, this does not always reflect the kind of community in which the individual was reared. It is a well established fact in sociology that norms of behavior and attitudes are influenced by early socialization and experience. Also, one's position in a small community may be very different than it would be in a large city. Family background, income, property and length of residence are important factors

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[33]Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957) p. 180.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

to the individual's prestige in small towns and rural areas. In urban areas, one's occupational position plays perhaps the dominant part in social and economic status of the individual. Of course, these factors of social status can never be purely and totally isolated because they are a part of a complex whole in the individual's experience and personality. The respondents in this study were asked to check the size of community in which they were reared. Dallas is now a large urban center, but its growth has been recent.

The respondents in this study indicated that they grew up in cities of over 100,000 population or cities and towns of less than 25,000. (Refer to Table XVI) Thirty-seven per cent of the social workers came

TABLE XVI

SIZE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH SOCIAL WORKERS WERE REARED

Community Size	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Farm	7.57	5.00	11.50
Town under 2,500	18.18	11.25	28.90
City under 25,000	20.45	23.75	15.40
City of 25,000-50,000	5.30	6.25	3.80
City of 50,000-100,000	9.85	12.50	5.75
City over 100,000	37.12	38.75	34.65
No answer	1.52	2.50	-----

from cities of over 100,000; 20 per cent were from small towns of between 2,500 and 25,000; and 18 per cent were reared in towns of under 2,500. Only 7.5 per cent stated that they were reared on the farm. About 15 per cent of the group indicated that they grew up in middle-sized cities--from 25,000 to 100,000. There are differences in the two groups. Eleven per cent of the DPW staff members were reared on a farm and only 5 per cent of the NASW persons came from rural areas. Including small towns of 2,500, slightly over 40 per cent of the DPW workers were in this group while only 15 per cent of the NASW members were from rural areas and small towns. Thirty-four per cent of the DPW workers grew up in cities of 100,000 population as compared with the 37 per cent of NASW members. Perhaps the two things from these data which have some significance are that in both groups one-third or more of these social workers were brought up in urban areas, and that 20 of the 52 DPW persons were reared on the farm or in towns of less than 2,500. Twelve (or 23 per cent) of these same people associated themselves with the upper class by self-estimate. Only eight (or 10 per cent) of the NASW members designated upper class status by self-estimate.

Father's Income.

In order to obtain a general view of the socio-economic background of this group of social workers, they were asked to check the approximate level of father's income in the community in which they lived. Actual income figures were not requested for two reasons: (1) many persons

would not give this information, or would find it difficult to come to a decision because of the changing nature of one's income; and (2) this income is influenced by inflation and the changing monetary value. Therefore, the level of income was used in order to make a relative evaluation possible. (See Table XVII). This group of social workers

TABLE XVII

FATHER'S INCOME OF THE DALLAS SOCIAL WORKERS AT THEIR SECONDARY SCHOOL AGE

Income in Community	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Upper one-third	26.52	22.50	32.75
Middle one-third	56.06	53.75	59.65
Lower one-third	13.64	20.00	3.80
No answer	3.79	3.75	3.80

certainly present a picture of a reasonably secure background as far as family income was concerned. In reference to the total group 26.5 per cent stated the father's income to be in the upper one-third of the community; 56 per cent, in the middle one-third; and 13.6 per cent in the lower one-third of income groups in the community. Five people, 3.8 per cent, did not respond to the item concerning father's income. The major difference here again is in the fact that the DPW workers in general felt that they came from families with higher income in the community than the NASW workers. Only 3.8

per cent of the public welfare workers checked father's income as in the lower one-third of the community. Here, again, many factors far beyond the scope of this study enter into this self-evaluation. It is interesting, however, that DPW workers, who are at the lower level of social work salaries in general, classified the income of their fathers as high. Forty-eight of the 52 respondents in that group checked father's income as in the upper two-thirds of the community. Certainly social workers in Dallas do not represent a group who experienced economic and social deprivation in their earlier years from the standpoint of their own subjective evaluation.

Father's Occupation.

Usually income is closely related to occupation. In the study an open-ended question was asked leaving space for the respondent to write in father's occupation. As a result, quite an array of responses was received. Table XVIII shows the occupation of the fathers and the per cent falling in each category. In compiling this table no attempt at classification of the occupations listed was made. If farming and ranching are grouped together, 14.4 per cent of the fathers of these respondents were agriculturalists. Yet only 7.5 per cent of the social workers were reared on a farm. However, 18 per cent were brought up in towns of less than 2,500 population. Nineteen of the employees of the DPW indicated father's occupation as farming and ranching. The next highest category was retail merchant--showing 9 per cent. Most of these social

workers were from the NASW group. Only 3.8 per cent of the DPW workers stated their fathers were merchants. The engineer, minister, salesman, contractor, doctor, and banker were the occupations of

TABLE XVIII

OCCUPATION OF FATHERS OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN STUDY

Occupation	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Farmer	12.12	11.25	13.46
Retail merchant	9.09	12.50	3.80
Engineer	6.82	5.00	7.69
Minister	4.54	3.75	5.76
Salesman	3.79	1.25	7.69
Contractor	3.79	3.75	3.80
Doctor	3.03	----	7.69
Banker	3.03	2.50	3.80
Attorney	2.27	2.50	1.92
Carpenter	2.27	2.50	1.92
Ranchman	2.27	----	5.76
Public Official	2.27	3.75	----
Government worker	2.27	3.75	----
Accountant	1.51	1.25	1.92

fathers most frequently listed and in that order. There were certainly more professionals among the members of the DPW workers than the NASW members. Twenty-three per cent of the fathers of the DPW group were engineers, ministers, and doctors. Only 8.7 per cent of the professional social workers' fathers came within these three professional categories. The DPW group, who are themselves government employees, did not inherit the occupation from fathers. One reported a father who was a rural mail carrier, the only government employee. In this connection it is of course well to remember that this group is largely women--only 9 out of the 52 DPW workers are men. The scattering of occupations not included in Table XVIII was primarily semi-professional, clerical, managerial, and kindred workers. Very few fell at the lower level of the occupational hierarchy.

Together the estimate of the father's income and father's occupation of the Dallas social workers seem to indicate that these social workers come from economically substantial families whose fathers engaged in a wide variety of occupations with some clustering in the professional, proprietary, and agrarian occupational groupings.

Husband's and Wife's Occupation.

W. Lloyd Warner and his school employed the idea that "the company one keeps" is one of the determinants of social class. Already the early background of the respondents in this study has been described by using size of city in which one was reared, the income

and occupation of the father. Additional information about the immediate associates of these social workers will be presented here.

In the current study there were 25 married men and 35 married women. About one-third (34 per cent) of the women were married and 83.8 per cent of the men were married. What kind of people do social workers marry?

Eleven married men labeled their wives as housewife or home maker. This is the expected answer. However, several also indicated that their wives performed a work job over and above being just housewives. (See Table XIX). In this table only numbers are used because

TABLE XIX

OCCUPATION OF WIVES OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN STUDY

Occupation	Total	NASW	DPW
Housewife	11	9	2
Teacher	6	3	3
Nurse	2	2	-
Bookkeeper	1	1	-
Social worker	2	2	-
Secretary	2	1	1
Stenographer	1	1	-
Total	25	19	6

they are very small. However, percentage-wise, 56 per cent of the social workers' wives were gainfully employed outside the home. Six women were teachers, two were nurses, two were social workers, and two were secretaries. This means that ten of the wives are themselves professionals. It was also observed from written-in statements that the wife's occupation prior to marriage was also in these and similar professions. One wife was a bookkeeper and one other was a stenographer. Not only did the married men in this group of social workers marry women who came from similar occupations, but over half of the wives were still employed.

Table XX presents the husband's occupation of the 35 married women included in the study. According to the facts in Tables XIX and XX, women social workers who marry men in social work are not likely to stay in the field. If this group of social workers is typical, then social workers will marry business executives and managers, salesmen, college professors, ministers, attorneys, accountants and public relations personnel and engineers. Four social workers were married to salesmen--two each from the NASW group and the DPW employees. Four social workers were married to business executives and managers; one from the DPW employees and three from the NASW group. Three of the NASW members were married to college professors and two were married to ministers. Other professional groups represented by the husbands of these married social workers were physician and the veterinarian. Miscellaneous occupations represented by the husbands

TABLE XX

OCCUPATION OF HUSBANDS OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN STUDY

Occupation	Total	NASW	DPW
Salesman	4	2	2
Business executives and managers	4	3	1
College Professor	3	3	-
Minister	2	2	-
Attorney	2	1	1
Engineer	2	2	-
Accountant	2	1	1
Public Relations	2	2	-
Construction work	2	1	1
Physician	1	1	-
Veterinarian	1	-	1
Advertising	1	-	1
Newspaper Printer	1	-	1
Law Enforcement	1	-	1
Miscellaneous *	7	5	2
Total	35	23	12

*Disabled, supervisor, store owner, manufacturers representative, union organizer, insurance man, store owner.

of the Dallas social workers were store owner, manufacturing representative, union organizer, insurance man, supervisor (unlabeled). One husband only was listed as disabled. With this array of occupations, it appears that the husbands of social workers who are employed would have sufficient income to support a wife and family. This group of social workers at least were not solely motivated by the economic returns of social work. However, the factor of income may be a more important one for the women employed in the DPW as only 28 per cent of the women in that agency were married as compared to the 40 per cent of married women who were members of NASW.

Occupation of Friends.

Of course, the most intimate associations in the social milieu of the individual are those who comprise his family, e.g. husband, wife, mother, father, and children. But there are many outside the family with whom an individual develops intimate associations more or less. We refer to these people usually as friends. (See Table XXI for tabulated results). As far as associations outside the family, the social workers in this group appeared to be a "we-group" but not an absolutely closed group. There was a scattering of friends in many professions and fields of endeavor. Only those listed most frequently have been included in Table XXI. Social workers indicated that they like other social workers. Sixty-eight per cent of the respondents reported social workers as among their most intimate friends; 38 per cent mentioned

TABLE XXI

OCCUPATION OF FRIENDS OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN STUDY

Occupation	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Social Worker	68.18	72.50	61.53
Teacher	37.87	36.25	40.38
Housewife	34.09	30.00	40.38
Secretary	12.88	8.75	19.23
Doctor	9.85	11.25	7.69
Business	9.85	11.25	7.69
Minister	8.33	8.75	7.69
Lawyer	7.58	6.25	11.53
Nurse	6.06	8.75	1.92
Salesman	4.54	7.50	----
Accountant	4.54	2.50	7.69
Engineer	3.79	6.25	----
Banker	2.27	1.25	3.80

teachers; and 34 per cent claimed housewives as among their friends. Next on this list of the total group was the secretary. Almost 13 per cent counted secretaries as good friends. On this item there is an interesting observation between the two groups of social workers. Only 8.9 per cent of the NASW group chose secretaries as friends while 19

per cent of the DPW. Secretaries are a very vital part in the smooth functioning of any social agency, but in this group of social workers there are actually fewer executive and supervisory positions in the DPW group than among the whole array of NASW members. These individuals, of course, could draw their friends from secretaries in other fields of work. From the writer's observations on the various visits to this DPW regional office, the secretaries and other clerical staff fill their positions with efficiency and dignity. The clerical personnel in this office is undoubtedly of very high caliber.

Some social workers indicated their friends were engaged in business and commercial fields. Slightly over 9 per cent of the social workers said their friends were in business or occupied business positions other than selling. Only 4.5 per cent indicated their friends were engaged in salesmanship. Accountants and bankers were listed as friends by a few of the social workers, but the banker seems to make his appearance as a friend less than some of the occupational groups mentioned above. There were a few differences in the two groups which are probably of less significance than the similarities. The NASW group associate more with people from their own profession than do the DPW workers. The NASW members outside their own group associate more with teachers, housewives, doctors, and business people. The DPW employees, outside of social workers, associate more with teachers, housewives, secretaries, and lawyers. From the standpoint of friends, social workers associate with those members from their own profession

and a middle class cross-section of professional and white-collar occupational groups.

Housing and Households of Social Workers.

As the data for this group of social workers were gathered by the questionnaire method, there was no way of determining the section of the city in which the respondents lived. Most addressed used by the respondents were agency addresses. A few routine items were included about housing and household structure.

The factor of home ownership has been considered a significant factor in one's social position in the community. Ownership itself, however, is not so important as location of dwelling which was not available for this group.

Of the total 132 social workers, 79 or 59.8 per cent owned their homes. Only 6 per cent (8 people) rented a house; and 33.3 per cent (44 people) rented an apartment. One respondent did not fit into any of these categories because she owned a home in another town and rented an apartment in the city. Home ownership is only slightly higher among the NASW members. Sixty-three per cent owned their homes as compared to 53.8 per cent of the DPW staff members who owned homes (See Table XXII). Approximately the same per cent of NASW workers rented apartments as DPW workers. There was not much difference in the pattern of home ownership between these two groups.

TABLE XXII

HOME OWNERSHIP OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Own House	79	59.85	51	63.75	28	53.85
Rent House	8	6.06	2	2.50	6	11.54
Rent Apartment	44	33.33	27	33.75	17	32.69
None of these	1	0.76	-	----	1	1.92

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of rooms in each dwelling. The number of rooms ranged from one to 12 rooms per dwelling (See Table XXIII). The median number of rooms per dwelling for the entire group of social workers was 5.94. The members of the DPW appeared to have slightly larger households than the NASW members, but the difference is really not significant. Usually a six room house is considered adequate to house the average three person family. And as Table XXIV discloses social workers' families are small. Only three persons lived in dwellings with ten rooms or more. The fact that many of the people (34.8 per cent) are single and 26 (19.7 per cent) are in the separated, widowed, and divorced categories would not indicate the need for large housing facilities. In the end, the writer recognized that it is not the number of rooms but the floor space that determines the size of a dwelling. The point to be made here is that it appears that this group of social workers are housed in a manner which would afford adequate

comfort and privacy for everyday living.

TABLE XXIII

ROOMS PER DWELLING OF THE SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN STUDY

Rooms	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
12	1	0.76	1	1.25	--	----
11	1	0.76	1	1.25	--	----
10	1	0.76	-	----	1	1.92
9	5	3.79	2	2.50	3	5.77
8	6	4.55	5	6.25	1	1.92
7	13	9.85	9	11.25	4	7.69
6	35	26.52	18	22.50	17	32.69
5	29	21.97	20	25.00	9	17.31
4	22	16.67	12	15.00	10	19.23
3	10	7.57	7	8.75	3	5.77
2	1	0.76	1	1.25	-	----
1	3	2.27	1	1.25	2	3.85
No answer	5	3.79	3	3.75	2	3.85
Median	5.94		5.87		6.06	

The respondents were asked to further describe home living conditions by giving the number of persons in each household. (See Table XXIV). The family of the Dallas social worker was small as the median

was 2.57 for all respondents. Two households had as many as five persons. Since 46 of the social workers classified themselves as single, it is evident that a few of these lived with other members of the family or had made combined living arrangements with other persons. Only 37 persons reported one in the household.

TABLE XXIV

PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

Persons in Household	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
6	2	1.52	2	2.50	-	----
5	8	6.06	8	10.00	-	----
4	11	8.33	6	7.50	5	9.62
3	23	17.42	16	20.00	7	13.46
2	45	34.10	25	31.25	20	38.46
1	37	28.03	18	22.50	19	36.54
No answer	6	4.55	5	6.25	1	1.92
Median	2.57		2.78		2.32	

Religion.

The respondents were asked to designate religious affiliation or preference. Only three persons failed to answer this item. Three persons answered "none" to religious affiliation or preference. Table XXV gives detailed religious affiliation for the Dallas social workers.

Because there seems to be lack of agreement on the classification of basic faiths or religions, the categories used in the table here are exactly as the respondents answered. The number of Methodists was surprising when compared to the number in some other rather well-known churches. Thirty of the population indicated they were members

TABLE XXV

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND PREFERENCE OF THE SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

Religion	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Methodist	30	22.73	19	23.75	11	21.16
Presbyterian	17	12.88	6	7.50	11	21.16
Episcopal	16	12.13	11	13.75	5	9.62
Baptist	16	12.13	7	8.75	9	17.31
Christian	9	6.81	3	3.75	6	11.53
Unitarian	9	6.81	8	10.00	1	1.92
Congregational	2	1.51	1	1.25	1	1.92
Church of Christ	1	0.75	-	----	1	1.92
Protestant	11	8.33	8	10.00	3	5.77
Jewish	10	7.58	10	12.50	-	----
Catholic	5	3.79	3	3.75	2	3.85
None	3	2.27	2	2.50	1	1.92
No answer	3	2.27	2	2.50	1	1.92

of the Methodist church. The churches with the next largest number of members were Presbyterian, 17 per cent; Episcopal, 16 per cent; and Baptist, 16 per cent. Ten individuals, or 7.5 per cent, were Jewish or of Hebrew faith and five individuals, or 3.8 per cent were of the Catholic faith.

If church membership and religious affiliation is an indication of a stable, conservative, rigid middle class group of people, this group of social workers give support to such a proposition.

Summary

According to the respondents in this study, social work salaries at the time the study was made, were much improved over salaries of 1950 and 1955. The median salary for the entire group was $4,795. This salary median was below the 1959 average of effective buying income per household for Dallas ($6,295). There was considerable difference in the median for the groups of social workers. The median salary was $6,361 for the NASW and $4,295 for the DPW group. In general, men received salaries higher than women; however, three out of the seven in the highest income bracket were women. Fifty-nine social workers (45 per cent) indicated that they had other income over and above social work salaries.

Seventy-seven per cent of the social workers included in this study were women--a figure slightly above but comparing favorably with the national survey and other studies. Not only were there more women in

the field, but the women were older in general. The age and sex characteristics of the social workers in this population, even in a more accentuated manner, support the association made by the general public of social work with women's occupations.

A brief examination of the educational background of the Dallas social workers displayed a foundation of college education which was higher than that of social work training in Texas. Specialized and graduate social training is gaining in importance as indicated by the fact that the percentage of social workers with graduate degrees had increased since 1955. The undergraduate major interest of social work practitioners varies widely; but this study showed that social workers had a college background in the social and psychological sciences and the humanities. Social workers also brought to their practice advanced training in other areas as evidenced by the 26 persons who held degrees at the Master's level in other fields.

Social workers in the study agreed that they are primarily middle class by their own self-estimate of class identification. However, there was enough difference in the two groups in this study to give rise to some questions. Twenty-three per cent of the DPW workers considered themselves upper class as compared to 10 per cent of the NASW members. Does this mean that employees of the DPW feel that this occupation is terminal and social status is not so much influenced by occupation as other factors? Would the high percentage of women in the DPW group be a factor in the high upper-class identification? Is this a compensating

mechanism? Slightly over 40 per cent of the DPW group were reared in towns of 2,500 or less and on farms. In the small communities, social position is determined more by family background, friends, and consumption. It is possible that these people have transferred this system of class identification into the urban setting. Self-identification is a complex of life experiences and personality traits; occupation is only a part of the total complex. The way the person interprets his experiences including those in his occupations are influenced by his ideology which in turn is influenced by his education, family background, and other factors.

The social workers in this study grew up in communities of over 100,000 population or in cities and towns of less than 25,000. Income is usually related to occupation. Social workers in this study indicated that their fathers engaged in a wide range of occupations. Farmers, retail merchants, engineers, ministers, salesmen, contractors, and doctors were listed more frequently and in this order.

Together the self-estimate of the father's income and father's occupation of the Dallas social workers indicated that these people come from economically substantial families, and their fathers engaged in a wide variety of occupations with some clustering in the professional, proprietary, and agrarian occupational groupings.

Eleven of the 25 married men in the study gave housewife as the occupation of the wife. Fourteen others listed wives' occupations as teachers, nurses, bookkeeper, social workers, secretaries and

stenographers. Women in the field of social work were married to business executives, managers, salesmen, college professor, ministers, and other professional and white-collar groups.

Social workers chose their friends more from social work than any other occupational group. Other friends included teachers, housewives, secretaries, doctors, and business people.

The average social worker in Dallas owned his own six room home occupied by two or three persons. If church membership and religious affiliation are indicative of a stable and conservative middle class group, this group of social workers confirmed this belief.

CHAPTER X

ROLE CONFLICTS AND STATUS INSECURITIES OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Scope of Social Work

Social work can be defined as a profession, and the social worker may be called a professional. However, it is more difficult to decide what social work is and who are social workers. Does the use of the term professional worker in contrast to social worker infer that some individuals are performing social work services who are not professionals? When and how does the social worker become professional? Is social work as a profession to be considered a generic field with several specializations offering diverse services? Should social work personnel be classified as professional and non-professional with titles to indicate this differentiation? What types of social work positions are most desirable? Is social work a subculture with values, norms, and types sufficiently established to differentiate it from other groups?

Through the years social work has been developing certain values, norms, and stereotypes. But these are not clear to the public and not thoroughly crystallized by social workers themselves. Social work as a subculture often finds its ideologies, at least in part, in conflict with ideologies of the general society. Social work concepts, methods, and philosophy are based upon a humanitarian idea of social responsibility which has been in conflict with the Puritan ideology stressing work and

success. The idea of the "rugged individualism" which was that attainment and success depended upon certain inherent capacities and the application of hard work was deeply rooted in America. Individuals who did not succeed were deviants, and society in general was in no way responsible for them. The general pattern was punishment for failure and not help. It is presumptuous to suggest that all of the ideologies of social workers which conflict with the broader culture could be included in a study as limited as this one. The purpose of this chapter is to present the attitudes of social workers in the field in regard to some occupational ideologies.

It has already been suggested in this study and in other social work literature that the area of competence in social work is difficult to limit. What is social work? What do social workers do? Answers to these questions from selected literature in the field have already been reviewed. What do practicing social workers believe? On the questionnaire mailed to the social workers in this study, six statements concerning the scope of social work were listed. Space for "yes" and "no" answers was provided. Table XXVI shows the results of the tabulation on these statements. No instructions were given to the social workers to check agreement with all or any of these statements. The number checked was left to the discretion of each social worker. The statements were not designed to be mutually exclusive, but to allow for a wide range of definitions of the scope of social work as well as varying degrees within the range. Table XXVI shows the percentage

TABLE XXVI

EVALUATION OF THE SCOPE OF SOCIAL WORK BY SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

Scope of Social Work	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Social work is a professional service with several specializations.	96.21	96.25	96.20
Social work includes functions clearly defined and accepted as professional services, and others not so defined and accepted.	87.88	86.25	90.40
Social work should include all welfare services and assistance programs.	70.45	65.00	78.91
Social work should include only highly specialized services offered by professionally trained practitioners.	20.45	27.50	9.65
Social work is a single profession, independent of all other professions and occupations.	17.42	23.75	7.74
Social work is not a profession--only a work occupation.	3.03	-----	7.74

of the social workers who were in agreement with each statement as was indicated by the "yes" answer. The social workers in both the NASW group and the DPW staff members were in agreement on their responses to the first statement which read, "social work is a professional service with several specializations." Ninety-six per cent of the social workers responded with a "yes" answer to this statement. This writer considered the last statement on the table as an opposite, if not contradictory,

statement to the first one. The last statement read, "Social work is not a profession, only a work occupation." Only three per cent of the social workers agreed with this statement. The social workers who agreed with this statement were from the staff members of the DPW, and heavy responsibilities carried by this group may often take on aspects of work as well as service. The percentage of answers which were in agreement with the statement decreased in descending order on the table. This social work population revealed that while they agreed with the fact that social work is a professional service with several specializations, social work also includes functions, some clearly defined and accepted as professional and others not clearly defined. To this statement almost 80 per cent answered "yes." This statement, which is perhaps more exact than the first statement, did not record the same degree of agreement. A higher percentage of the DPW workers agreed with this statement of the scope of social work, but the difference is not great enough to be of much importance. In general one could say that the majority of workers included in this study were at almost the same level of agreement on this statement.

The statement that, "social work includes all welfare services and assistance programs," seemed to create some doubt on the part of the respondents. Seventy per cent of the total number of social workers felt that social work included all welfare services and assistance programs. More affirmative answers were received from the DPW

group than the NASW. At the same time, two-thirds of the NASW members agreed with this statement. It seems quite evident that social workers are in rather general agreement about the scope of social work as revealed by these first three statements which when put together are broad enough to include almost all of the traditional as well as highly specialized functions of social work.

The fourth statement was included in an attempt to see if social workers would agree upon the limitations of social work functions. Apparently they were not ready to agree upon the limitations implied by the statement that, "social work should include only highly specialized services offered by professionally trained practitioners." Less than one-fourth (20.4 per cent) of the social workers agreed with this limiting statement. There was a considerable difference here in the answers from the two groups. Only 9.6 per cent of the DPW workers answered in the affirmative as compared to 27.5 per cent of the NASW members. If welfare workers consider themselves social workers, then one could not expect agreement with this statement. The NASW members were more inclined to agree with the statement, but the group as a whole were not willing to place this limitation upon social work services.

Only a few of the social workers were willing to accept social work as a single profession, independent of all other professions and occupations. Because of the new teamwork approach in social work, and because social workers perform their duties in settings other than social agencies, there seems to be confusion on the part of the general

public as to the singularity of the social work profession. Also, in some social work agencies, specialists in other fields are employed who often identify themselves with the social work profession and often pass as social workers. If the affirmative responses to this statement reflect this meaning, then there is some doubt about the status of social work as a well-organized occupational unit.

Combinations of affirmative answers to these statements were tabulated, and only one combination seemed meaningful. Fifty-six (43 per cent) of the social workers agreed upon the following three statements: (1) social work includes functions clearly defined and accepted as professional services, and others not so defined and accepted; (2) social work is a professional service with several specializations; and, (3) social work should include all welfare services and assistance programs.

Social workers in this study seem to have found more agreement upon the nature of the functions and services of social work; they are sure it is not just a work occupation; they are not convinced that it is a single profession, independent of all other professions and occupations.

Social workers should be encouraged to move toward a more specific image of the professional self in social work, but this development depends upon the degree of authority, monopoly, and prestige developed by the profession of social work.

Training and Education for Social Workers

The educational background of the social workers included in this study was described in Chapter II. In 1950, two-thirds of all social workers in the United States had college degrees and one-half had taken graduate work in some area--primarily in the social work field.[1] The Dallas social workers in this current study measure well against this background of educational attainment of social workers. In Dallas 85.6 per cent of all social workers had college degrees and 55.3 per cent had some graduate training in social work. An additional 10.6 per cent held graduate degrees in other fields.

It is generally known that many positions in social work are occupied by individuals who have below the minimum educational standards. There are many positions in this country still vacant because of the acute shortage of professionally trained social workers. Several factors enter into this great gap between the number of social work positions and the number of professionally trained social workers. First, there have always been more social work positions than trained personnel. In spite of the rapid development of graduate schools of social work, the number of graduates from the now existing schools of social work cannot meet the demand for professional social workers. Social work, like many other social groups, is being affected by social change. The impact of

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[1]Louise N. Mumm, "The Personnel of Social Welfare," Social Work Year Book, 1957, p. 396.

urbanization and the changing composition of population are creating greater needs for social workers in this country. The shifting population, as illustrated by the movement of large numbers of people into large urban centers and the movement of the people in the central city to the fringe areas, requires many social adjustments, some resulting in confused and disturbed social relationships. The relative increase in the number of older people in the population and the number of young children--both usually considered groups with greater dependency upon others--implies perhaps an even greater need for social welfare services.

Another problem which faces the social work profession at the moment is more effective techniques for more rapid recruitment for the field. This is not a study of social work recruitment, but the recruiting of new members for the field is actually a prerequisite to education and may quite well be one weakness in the professional subculture of social work.

The questionnaire used in this study requested the social workers to express their attitudes about a few general questions concerning social work education. One question read as follows: "Do you believe that the social worker should have graduate professional education?" Of the total group of social workers, 84.8 per cent replied in the affirmative, but as Table XXVII indicates, there were differences in the responses of the two groups. Table XII in Chapter IX showed that only 36 per cent of the total group of social workers held the M.S.W. degree.

TABLE XXVII

THE SOCIAL WORKER'S ATTITUDES ABOUT TRAINING AND EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Social workers should have graduate professional education.	84.84	92.50	73.1
Undergraduate prerequisites should be uniformly established.	76.51	77.50	75.0
Generic social work training is sufficient for social workers.	34.84	42.50	23.1

The question was answered either "yes" or "no" by all 52 members of the DPW groups, and 73 per cent felt that the social worker should have graduate training in social work. Twenty-seven per cent gave a negative answer. It is a fact that there is a differential in the amount of social work training which social workers have attained and the amount considered desirable. The 92.5 per cent of the NASW members represents an attitude which is to be expected from a group of people who should represent the highest degree of professionalism. But again in this case the desired educational attainment exceeds the actual training of the social workers in this group. Only two people in the NASW group gave a negative answer to this question, and there were four "no answers."

The undergraduate prerequisites for entrance into professional

social work education have been high in an academic sense, but general rather than specific. At the present, the almost universal requirement for entrance into professional training is the baccalaureate degree with emphasis upon liberal arts education. Graduate schools have imposed varying requirements of a minimum of hours in the social and biological sciences. The response to this question shows a surprising degree of uniformity in the answers from both groups of social workers. About 76 per cent of the social workers agreed that undergraduate prerequisites should be established. Still, one-fourth of the social workers believe that uniformity in undergraduate education is not needed. The information is far too general to add any information of value to the already disputed and much debated role of undergraduate prerequisites in social work education.

The third question reveals the attitudes of social workers toward the generic approach to social work training. Since the rather general adoption of the 1952 curriculum policy by the graduate schools of social work, one basic concern has been toward a more generic approach in the professional education for social workers. The movement toward the generic in social work education has more or less paralleled the merging of the professional associations. From the response of these social workers it appears that the generic approach has not thoroughly permeated the social work field at the practice level. Eleven, or 8 per cent, of the social workers did not answer the question. However, only 34.8 per cent believed that generic training was sufficient for professional

social work practice. Of course, there is some question as to how well social workers, particularly the untrained social workers, understand the meaning of the concept "generic." Certainly the members of the professional organization indicated by their answers that they were more accepting to the idea of the generic approach to social work education.

Another question designed to obtain very general attitudes toward social work training was the following: "Do you believe that field work in the following fields of practice should be included in the curriculum of the graduate profressional school of social work?" The respondent could check as many or as few of the areas mentioned as he wished. This question was not intended to demonstrate that any one area of field work should or should not be included in social work training, but rather to see if there might be a pattern of field work areas in which some had greater appeal or value for the social workers. Table XXVIII shows that all areas mentioned were checked by more than one-half of the social workers. The two different groups of social workers were in amazing agreement in the percentage checking each area of field work experience. Family casework was the area checked by the greatest number of social workers, and psychiatric social work was second. Children's services was third. It should be noted that the DPW workers placed children's services next to family casework. This seems reasonable as the members of the State Department of Public Welfare administer two divisions of services for children--Division of Public Assistance

TABLE XXVIII

FIELDS OF PRACTICE IN WHICH FIELD WORK SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN CURRICULUM OF GRADUATE SCHOOLS - BASED UPON THE RESPONSES OF SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

Field of Practice	Per Cent		
	Total	NASW	DPW
Family Casework	90.14	88.75	92.30
Psychiatric Social Work	89.02	81.25	73.12
Children's services	78.02	71.25	88.44
Medical Social Work	74.99	72.50	78.80
Group Work	70.45	75.00	63.50
Social Work Administration	68.18	68.75	67.33
Community Organization	67.42	66.25	69.21
School Social Work	61.36	58.75	65.40
Probation Service	60.60	55.00	69.20
Social Work Research	59.84	61.25	57.77

and Division of Child Welfare. All areas of field work mentioned were supported by a substantial percentage of the social workers--enough to demonstrate the importance of all areas. The areas at the lower end of the table included social work research, probation service, and school social work. Social work administration, community organization, and group work occupied the intermediate positions.

Social Work Positions

The fact that the function of social work is clearer than the structure of social work as a profession is displayed by the array of positions held by the social workers in this study. Social workers in this study were employed in all types of agencies. Both public and private agencies from the local level to the regional offices of Federal agencies and institutions were represented. Respondents were asked to give the title of the position they held in the agency or organization. The list of titles received was a long and confusing maze--some characteristic of social work and others which might have been applicable to many professions and occupations. The social work personnel responding to the questionnaire were grouped into four levels as follows: practitioners, 66; administrative and supervisory personnel, 41; specialists, 10; and those giving no answer and not now employed, 15.

The group here classified by the writer as practitioners include the following titles and the number indicating the use of such title:

Field worker in public assistance	22
Visiting teacher	7
Caseworker	6
Licensing worker	5
Clinical social worker	4
General casework	4
Chief social worker	3
Psychiatric social worker	3
Social worker in public assistance	3
Social worker	2
Intake worker	2
Nursing home worker	2
Group worker	1
Medical social worker	1
Child welfare	1

This really represents the modern trend of specialization. Only two people in the NASW members and three in the DPW group used the generic term social worker as the title for the position occupied. Forty-one persons indicated by the title of positions that they were in an administrative, assistant administrative, and supervisory capacity. Thirty-six of these in administrative positions were members of the NASW group.

Social work also has its specialists. The specialists, other than the departmental and divisional heads included in the administrative group, were two instructors in psychiatry, a public welfare advisor, a research analyst, a senior public welfare advisor, a supervisor of training center, a consultant, a council advisor, a senior technician, and a visiting counselor.

According to Charles Laughton, most positions in the field of social work in Texas have as their primary function the direct provision of services.[2] Three out of every four budgeted positions are at the practitioner level. About 20 per cent have as their primary function supervisory and administrative duties in direct service agencies. Laughton added that less than five per cent of all social welfare positions involved consultation, planning, research, and professional teaching. However, in the social agencies employing professionally educated social workers this distribution did not hold. "Almost one-half of those positions are of

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[2]Charles Laughton, op. cit., p. 14.

a supervisory, administrative, or consultative nature. Thus, those who are more highly trained to work with individuals and groups are frequently one or two steps removed from the client."[3] Certainly the current study is top-heavy with administrative personnel and specialists in the field. Of the NASW members, 57.5 per cent reported that they held administrative, supervisory, or specialized positions. If the seven persons who are now permanently and temporarily out of the field were removed from these figures, the executive and specialized positions would increase to 75 per cent for the NASW members. Eight of the DPW members did not give the title of their positions, but seven from this group were classified in the administrative and supervisory capacity. This means that about five per cent of the DPW employees were in the administrative and supervisory levels. Of course, this is a single agency, and the group would of necessity show a smaller percentage in this level of employment. This means that less than one-half of the social workers in this study occupied positions at the level of contacts with the clients.

It has already been suggested that the functions of social work may be more specifically defined than the structural organization in which these functions are performed. Are some positions in social work more desirable than others? The questionnaire included an item concerning the most desirable positions in social work. Ten of the most common

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[3] Ibid.

social work positions were listed, and the respondent was asked to number these positions from one to five in order of preference. Tables XXIX and XXX show the results from these responses. Because of the decided differences here in the ranking of the desirable positions, it seems apparent several factors might have been involved in the perception of the preferred choices. The fact that the DPW group ranked the public welfare worker as first must be an expression of the respect with which they held their work. The NASW members, however, ranked the agency executive as highest on the list. The rank order for the entire group placed the agency executive at the top and the probation worker at the bottom.

Realizing that many factors enter the preference for positions, a space was allowed for the respondent to fill in the reasons for his preferences. A few of the most typical statements are included here. A young executive stated, "the agency executive has the wider range of activities in his job." Another said that he preferred the executive job because of the "possibility to plan and implement a sound program of social services." One agency director stated, "I like administrative work better than case work. My second choice would be medical social work." Another statement read, "It is with these duties that I am most familiar or in which I have had experience. Naturally the things I have done are most desirable." An assistant executive felt that, "the agency executive sets the goals of the agency, guides the direction of activities, controls the selection of staff, etc." One executive director said,

TABLE XXIX

SOCIAL WORK POSITIONS AS RANKED BY THOSE LISTING POSITIONS AMONG FIVE PREFERRED CHOICES

Position	Mean Rank			Rank		
	Total	NASW	DPW	Total	NASW	DPW
Agency executive	2.44	2.26	2.85	1	1	5
Public Welfare Worker	2.61	3.53	2.20	2	9	1
Psychiatric Social Worker	2.64	2.53	2.85	3	2	4
Executive of Community Organization	2.66	2.60	2.82	4	3	3
Family Case Worker	2.98	3.21	2.60	5	5	2
Medical Social Worker	3.22	3.22	3.20	6	6	6
Child Welfare Worker	3.25	3.19	3.30	7	4	7
School Social Worker	3.35	3.26	3.40	8	7	8
Group Worker	3.69	3.46	4.30	9	8	10
Probation Worker	3.72	3.75	3.70	10	10	9

"I like administration and in addition, it affords a higher level of income." Another person said that the position of agency executive "affords the best income and the most prestige." This individual was not in an executive position. Of the twenty persons who checked the agency executive as the position preferred, thirteen were themselves in that position. In general, the reasons for this preference were all very similar to the ones given in the illustrations above. They felt that

this position offered a wider and more inclusive kind of service to the community. Seven respondents not in the executive position indicated that the executive post was the most desirable one. Two were retired persons who had at one time been in executive positions. The five others were people in practice situations. Factors including service and prestige were reasons given by these few. With few exceptions this type of ranking appears to be biased by the interest of the particular individual in his own position. However, it is interesting that out of the 41 persons classified as administrative and supervisory, only 13 now employed preferred the executive position. Nine persons believed that the executive position in community organization was the most preferred in the heirarchy of social work positions. The 29 social workers who listed the agency executive and executive of community organization as preferred positions represented 10 men and 19 women.

Another manner of presenting the responses to this question is demonstrated in Table XXX where the positions are listed in the order of the frequency of inclusion. This is probably a more adequate listing from a functional point of view. This table shows the percentage of respondents listing the positions as among the five most desirable. The type of social work position listed most frequently was family case worker. The psychiatric social worker and medical social worker were next in that order; and child welfare worker was fourth. From the standpoint of frequency of inclusion, these four types of social work positions at the practice level were considered the most desirable.

The agency executive, on a percentage basis, came fifth in order according to frequency of inclusion. The group worker and the probation worker were the least desirable; and for these two groups there was agreement between the two systems of tabulation. Group work has been one of the accepted methods of social work for several years, but it does not appear to have the same appeal as the casework services. There is at this time considerable discussion about the role of the probation worker in social work. Social work has made its entry into the courts in this country in a gradual and piecemeal fashion. It has been since the extension of the functions of the social courts and probation departments that social work has been recognized as a service in that area. However, if these data are an indication of the relative position of the various types of social work positions, the probation worker is the least desirable at this time. The family case worker, the psychiatric social worker, the medical social worker, and the child welfare worker occupied the highest positions from the standpoint of desirability among the social workers in Dallas. The fact that the agency executive and the public welfare worker ranked high among the most preferred positions was probably biased by the relatively high percentage of persons in the executive, administrative, and social welfare positions.

In the introduction of Chapter VIII, it was pointed out that social work is a network of skills which are carried on in three levels of practice: it operates in an agency or institution offering one or more social services to individuals or groups; it operates as a part of a

TABLE XXX

SOCIAL WORK POSITIONS ACCORDING TO DESIRABILITY

Position	Per Cent Listing Position Among Five Most Desirable			Rank According to Frequency of Inclusion		
	Total	NASW	DPW	Total	NASW	DPW
Family case worker	81.80	81.25	82.7	1	1	1
Psychiatric social worker	68.18	71.25	63.5	2	2	4
Medical social worker	56.81	51.25	65.4	3	5	3
Child Welfare worker	52.27	52.50	51.0	4	4	5
Agency executive	49.99	57.50	36.5	5	3	7
School Social worker	43.78	38.75	50.0	6	6	6
Public Welfare worker	39.39	18.75	73.1	7	9	2
Executive of Community Organization	31.06	37.50	21.2	8	7	9
Group worker	24.24	30.00	15.3	9	8	10
Probation worker	21.97	15.00	32.7	10	10	8

team to provide co-ordinated services to individuals and groups; it operates in an auxiliary capacity in support of another type of services to individuals and groups. The importance of the practitioner may be significant at one of these levels while the executive post is the most desirable in another. In the small agency, the executive could be both director and practitioner; in the large agency, the executive and supervisory positions may be the most important and/or desirable. In the

co-ordinated services, the specially-trained practitioner is almost essential, but there is often danger of the identification with the organization rather than with social work. In the auxiliary services, the social worker is more likely to be the specialist--the stranger in another field of service. Even in social work, the specialist is making his appearance. The respondents in this study furnished a few rather concrete illustrations of this phenomenon. Several respondents in this study were holding positions as specialists in the regional offices of governmental agencies and hospitals under governmental auspicies. They reported their positions as consultants, advisors, research analysts and other technicians; yet they were identified with the field of social work to the extent of membership in the NASW. A few of these people did not have any graduate advanced social work training. It seems to this writer that social work positions in the past have been classified more on the functional significance of the position; but there now appears to be some concern about the structural aspects of positions. The situation is even more complicated by adding the impact of specialization which is characteristic of the bureaucratic society of this age. The data in this study indicate that in social work there are several functional positions which are accepted by the majority of social workers, but there are other marginal and peripheral positions which do not at this time add any degree of clarity to the over-all structure of social work positions. Each agency in social work supported by private and community chest funds is free to work out the practical hierarchy of

positions to meet the size and need of the agency. Governmental agency positions and salaries are rather uniformly established, but they vary at different levels of the government and according to the type of agency or organization.

Years in the Present Position.

The total number of social workers in Dallas showed considerable stability in employment. The median number of years in the present position was 5.8 years. The DPW group of social workers have stayed in the present position much longer than the median for the entire group. The median number of years in the present position for this group was 11.3 years. On the other hand, the NASW social workers showed a median of 4.3 years in the present work situation. The distribution of the number of years in present position ranged from less than one year to 38 years. Only two persons had been in the present position for more than 24 years. However, of the total group of social workers, 31.8 per cent of them had been in the position for a period of from 10 to 24 years; 48.5 per cent had been in the present job for five years or less. There was considerable difference between the two groups of social workers. The NASW members reported 15 per cent had been in the present job from 10 to 24 years while the DPW members reported 57.6 per cent who had been in the same position for the same time. The DPW staff members were not only an older group, but they had been in the present position for a much longer time. Sixty-one per cent of the NASW members had

been in the present position for five years or less. See Table XXXI for a description of the number and per cent in each group.

TABLE XXXI

YEARS IN PRESENT POSITION FOR SOCIAL WORKERS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

	Total		NASW		DPW	
Years	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Less than 1	6	4.55	4	5.00	2	3.85
1	15	11.36	11	13.75	4	7.69
2	16	12.12	12	15.00	4	7.69
3	10	7.58	8	10.00	2	3.85
4	11	8.33	8	10.00	3	5.77
5	6	4.55	6	7.50	0	.00
6	5	3.79	4	5.00	1	1.92
7	8	6.06	5	6.25	3	5.77
8	3	2.27	1	1.25	2	3.85
9	2	1.52	2	2.50	0	.00
10 - 14	21	15.91	4	5.00	17	32.69
15 - 19	15	11.36	7	8.75	8	15.38
20 - 24	6	4.55	1	1.25	5	9.62
25 - 29	0	.00	0	.00	0	.00
30 - 34	0	.00	0	.00	0	.00
35 - 39	2	1.52	2	2.50	0	.00
Not now employed	5	3.79	5	6.25	0	.00
No answer	1	.76	0	.00	1	1.92
Median	5.83		4.31		11.3	

The experience from long years of service in social work has always been valued. But the present emphasis upon graduate professional training for the new recruit in the field may be very confusing. The young person in search of a vocation is likely to come in contact with the social worker who entered the field when graduate specialized training was not required. When he is informed about the new high educational program now required for the practice of social work, it is difficult for him to understand. The variation in the experience is not a new problem in the field of social work, but the image of the profession would be more specific if social workers could be classified as to levels of professional operation. Table XXXI reveals that a large percentage of the DPW workers (57.6 per cent) came into social welfare 10 to 25 years ago. The level of training required for this group is not as high as the general educational background for that of the Dallas social workers. There are still many of these jobs available. The general trend, however, is to place the young recruits in the child welfare position. In this program of public welfare (child welfare services), a serious effort is being made to build a staff which will eventually be composed of professionally trained workers. Will there be established within the same agency categories of social workers--some who are professional and some who are not professional? Does the process of professionalization in social work require a degree of functional specificity which is now unattainable in social work? As an art based upon human relations, can the boundaries of social work be

accurately drawn?

Membership in Professional Associations

Another factor often considered to some degree a measure of professional status and prestige is membership in professional associations. In this study one group of social workers was selected on the basis of membership in the National Association of Social Workers. Table XXXII shows the membership of social workers according to frequency of listing. On the questionnaire two questions were asked: (1) Are you a member of NASW? (2) Are you a member of the Texas Social Welfare Association? Space was allowed for the respondent to list memberships in other organizations and associations.

It was mentioned in Chapter I that only one person from the DPW staff belonged to the NASW at the time of the survey. The Texas Social Welfare Association is a semi-professional association. Membership in this organization is open to lay persons interested in social welfare and other professionals as well as practicing social workers. Forty per cent of the entire group belonged to the Texas Social Welfare Association. Slightly over 51 per cent of the DPW group were members of the association; only 46 per cent of the NASW members belonged to the same association. Other national associations shown are American Public Welfare Association, National Conference on Social Welfare, and Child Welfare League of America. Other Texas associations include the recently organized Texas Society of Aging, the Texas State Teachers'

TABLE XXXII

MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Association	Total		NASW		DPW	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
NASW*	80	60.61	80	100.00	1	1.92
TSWA**	64	40.49	37	46.25	27	51.92
American Public Welfare Association	14	10.61	9	11.25	5	9.62
Texas Society of Aging	9	6.82	9	11.25	0	.00
National Conference of Social Welfare	7	5.30	7	8.75	0	.00
Texas State Teachers Association	4	3.03	4	5.00	0	.00
Visiting Teachers' Association	4	3.03	4	5,00	0	.00
Child Welfare League of America	4	3.03	4	5.00	0	.00
Texas Public Employee's Association	8	6.08	0	.00	8	6.08

* National Association of Social Workers
**Texas Social Welfare Association

Association, the Visiting Teachers' Association, and Texas Public Employee's Association. Alpha Kappa Delta is included here even though it is a national honorary society.

There were thirty-nine other organizations represented by membership from this group of social workers. These were very scattered and

specialized in nature.

Career Aspects

The respondents in this study were asked to write a brief paragraph on the reasons why they are now in the field of social work and/or why they chose social work as a profession. Regardless of the reasons, the social workers appeared frank and honest in their appraisal of their motives for entering the field. The statements were so selected as to be representative of the entire group of social workers. The number of responses included in each age category is representative of the proportion which that age group occupies in the total population of the study. The quotations include both men and women from both groups of social workers. However, in order to protect the individual respondent, no identifying information is given here. Also, some quotations have been edited only to the extent of eliminating identifying information. The first group of responses come from the social workers in the age bracket of 20 to 29 years.

> Since age 11, I wanted to help people help themselves, felt that the field of social work was spot to do this. Public Welfare Agencies are the best places to perform the above tasks if done with that idea and not the old give just for the pleasure of giving--but with rehabilitation as the goal.
>
> Aptitude test in college revealed that I was best suited for this type of work.
>
> Originally, I went into social work because of circumstances as I graduated with a B.A. in psychology, yet could not find positions open to me. I wanted to work

> with people and try to help them in some way and social work seemed the answer in view of my educational background. Since I have been in social work approximately 8 years, I find it continues to be stimulating and affords opportunities for continued growth, personally as well as professionally.
>
> I did not exactly choose social work as a profession, because I had been mistaken in thinking that lack of specialization would keep me from entering any phase of social work. I always have had a sincere interest in people as individuals a desire to help those who do not or cannot help themselves. I liked working directly with children, but the greatest satisfaction has come from working for them.....My need is strong to be of service.

The following statements came from the age group of 30 to 39 years of age.

> I enjoy working with people and particularly in a medical or psychiatric setting. Growing up during the depression of the 1930's has likely influenced my feeling for people with problems--personal, physical, financial, etc. Social work offers unlimited opportunity in a great variety of fields.....There is satisfaction in helping some accept the limitations that they must live with. Status is not always to be found in the profession--depending upon community and location, but what there is--is appreciated. When recognition is secured from other professions such as medicine and psychiatry, this is a strengthening element. Salary is acceptable. There is always the challenge of showing by "doing" just what social work really is (talking often times helps very little).
>
> As an undergraduate I took several preprofessional social work courses. This experience greatly stimulated my interest in social work, and upon graduation from college, I entered the Army and was assigned as a social work technician. I held this assignment for two and one-half years and during this time my understanding of and appreciation for social work increased. It was during that time that I definitely decided to attend a school of social work and upon discharge from the Army, I immediately entered social work training. There are also numerous conscious

> and unconscious psychological factors involved in selecting social work. Perhaps the most obvious factor, which is true of most people in helping professions, is my reaction formation to needing other people, which places me in a position to have other people need me.
>
> I like to be engaged in a process which aims at providing services to meet human needs. There is personal gratification in helping people grow and become more adequate in dealing with their affairs....Frankly, my choice of social work as a profession was rather naively made because I had insufficient information available to me at the time I made a choice.
>
> I chose Girl Scout work because I had been a member and a camp counselor, and because I believed this was a way to help others. I believe that this is an interest in a specific agency more than in social work.
>
> Working with and for people, feeling that I am helping them to become self-sufficient and believing that I may be able to contribute something towards the amelioration of social conditions prove emotionally satisfying reasons for my choice of social work as a profession.....I think that the profession of social work will continue to grow and develop as it mellows with experience and proof that as a profession it can contribute much toward the betterment of society.
>
> Being a member of a minority group, I was anxious to work in a profession that so warmly committed itself to the democratic ideals of equality of opportunity for all human beings and at the same time make use of techniques that would assist troubled people in removing many obstacles.....

Persons in the age group of 40 to 49 years gave a few interesting reasons for entering social work as a profession.

> I sometimes wonder. Except for the higher financial returns in social work administration I would be well content to have continued as a teacher.
>
> As a child I became interested in Hull House and the story of Jane Addams--but not until the depression was opportunity seen to get into work. I entered the ERA for the period of 1934-1935 and concluded that this was the type of work I

wished to do. ..... I went on my own earnings to graduate school.

Because I made this decision in general terms when I was 14 years old and in particular after my first work experience in a social settlement.

I find greatest satisfaction in this field of work. I entered the profession because of my natural inclinations and undergraduate training. I was a depression student and was aware of the social-economic problems personally and professionally.

I went through college, received an AB not knowing what I would like to do. Then I worked two years in business. Then I took a job as a caseworker with State Relief Administration. Two days later I knew this was what I had been looking for all my life. (Although if I had known of the Unitarian Church then, I would probably be a Unitarian minister now--a closely related activity). I chose social work and am now doing social work because of the satisfactions I receive and the status I feel (this latter runs a poor second).

The social workers from 50 to 59 years of age made the following comments:

Entered social work by chance as a result of volunteer service while in college. Am doing it now because it has been and continues to be satisfying, and because I believe that social work is in the position to make a telling contribution in resolving some of the greatest issues of our time--international understanding and democracy for all on our own home front.

Working with people has always been one of my primary interests. For this reason I followed the nursing profession for many years. In August, 1957 I decided I would like to broaden my scope of work into the social work field and applied for a position with.....

As a minister's daughter and later as a teacher's wife, I became interested in social work on the professional level as a result of years of volunteer social services in church, PTA and other groups.

> In 1949 after several years work with the ground forces of the Air Corps I found myself unemployed. Before going to work for the Air Corps, I had taught school for nine years. I have always liked to work with people and I decided to enter the field of social work.
>
> Learned of social work in college and with adolescent zeal wanted to help the underprivileged. Later became interested in the dynamics of human behavior and motivation. Social work is all I know and I still find it very interesting and I would not seriously want to do anything else.
>
> The profession of social work attracted me because it is not only a way of helping others to solve or alleviate their problems and so to live more satisfying lives, but it may become a "way of life" which enables social workers themselves to make of their own lives a more challenging, hopeful, and worthwhile existence.....

The two statements which follow came from the individuals in the field who were 60 years of age and over.

> My early college training was in the social sciences, with a major in political science and a minor in sociology. When the economic depression came entered the ERA and later attended a school of social work. This country is in an era of governmental benefits. The social worker who has a part in the administration of such programs has an opportunity to make at least two contributions. He may use such influence as he has to safeguard the rights of individual beneficiaries. He may also push for an efficient liberalism.
>
> I am in social work because I am trained for the profession. Family influences during my development and growth cycle influenced my choice of social work. My father was an attorney and judge, and my mother started several social and educational agencies in the small town where I lived.

The statements quoted above and many others from the social workers in this study furnished some implications concerning the career aspects of social work. Social workers, generally, do not learn early in life about the nature of social work. At the same time they go into social

work because it furnishes the opportunity not only to help others, but because it is a great service to society. Many social workers emphasized the nature of the psychological self-satisfactions which social work affords. At the heart of the career concept is a certain attitude toward work which one performs. The career is often referred to as a calling, a life devoted to "good works." One social worker in this study stated, "I guess that I am at heart just a 'do-gooder'." The social worker not only feels that social work is an important service, but the service, itself, is very vital to the social worker. Could it be that social workers are more concerned about their careers than the profession? An implication is that social workers, even though they are career conscious, are not clear about professional status. The following statement from one of the young social workers in the study is a good example of the confusion in this area.

> Were I qualified for another profession or gifted with a talent, I would probably not do social work, at least in view of its present turmoil--too much concern (almost defensiveness) about accomplishment of job, importance, etc. I believe in social work and feel strongly that it has much to contribute, but I do not feel any of us will accomplish much as long as we fuss and stew about our social standing, professional status, etc, etc. We keep ourselves so preoccupied with this that there is no room for a good job to be done. I undoubtedly chose social work because of personal needs.....

This statement is almost an anti-climax to the study, but it does indicate some awareness of the present problems in reference to the role and status of social workers.

Summary

Social workers in this study seemed to have found considerable agreement upon the nature of the functions and services of social work; they were sure that social work is not just a work occupation, but they are not convinced that it is a single profession, independent of all other professions and occupations. The respondents were most in agreement upon a combination of the three statements as being descriptive of the nature and scope of social work: (1) social work includes functions clearly defined and accepted as professional services, and others not so clearly defined and accepted; (2) social work is a professional service with several specializations; and (3) social work should include all welfare services and assistance programs.

The educational requisites for entrance into social work have now been standardized, and these standards are insured by the process of accreditation of the graduate schools of social work. At the present there are many in the field of social work who do not qualify from the standpoint of educational background. One of the most crucial problems in social work is this gap between what is desired in the education of social workers and what really exists. Slightly over 84 per cent of all social workers in this study believed that social workers should have graduate professional education, and yet actually only 36 per cent of the social workers held the M.S.W. degree. This is evidence that desired educational attainment exceeds the actual training of the social workers

in this group. About 75 per cent of the social workers agreed that undergraduate prerequisites should be established.

The movement toward the generic in social work education has more or less paralleled the merging of the professional associations, but according to the response of these social workers, the concept of the generic approach has not thoroughly permeated the social work field at the practice level. All ten areas of field work mentioned on the questionnaire were supported by a substantial percentage of the social workers--enough to demonstrate the importance of all areas.

The social work personnel in this group represented 66 at the practitioner level, 41 in administrative and supervisory capacities, and ten specialists. Fifteen either gave no answer or were unemployed. If position title is an indicator of specialization, certainly social work is specialized according to the broad range of titles given by practitioners and other personnel in the field.

It appears to the writer that social work positions in the past have been classified more on the functional significance of the position; but there appears to be some concern with the structural aspects of positions. The situation is even more complicated by adding the impact of specialization which is characteristic of the bureaucratic society of this age. The data in this study indicate that in social work there are several functional positions which are accepted by the majority of social workers; but there are other marginal and peripheral positions which do not at this time add any degree of clarity to the over-all structure of

social work positions.

Respondents in this study were asked to give their reasons for choosing social work as a vocation and why they have remained in the field. Based upon a review of the written statements, it appears that social workers are career minded. They tend to think of social work as a calling--a life devoted to "good works." However, many of these social workers admitted that they just drifted into social work or by accident entered the field. They did not learn early in life about social work.

Social workers should be encouraged to move toward a more specific image of the professional self in social work.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

This study in the sociology of occupations is concerned primarily with the application of sociological concepts in the analysis of social work as a profession. This inquiry was stimulated by the writer's interest in both sociology and social work and the desire to better understand the sociology of work and the present nature of professionalization in social work. Sociology as an academic discipline is no longer young, but the sociology of occupations is of much more recent origin. Social work as an art is ancient, but social work as a profession is of twentieth century origin. Sociology is a general science and is concerned with social relationships and the manner in which they become institutionalized and structured in society. However, the focus in sociology may be a specific one, and the importance of occupations as a means of social classification and differentiation has been recognized by sociologists.

The specific purposes around which this study was developed were: (1) to examine the degree of professionalization in social work as viewed by the general public and revealed through a survey of the literature in the field of social work and sociology, and (2) to analyze some elements of the subculture of social work with particular emphasis upon occupational ideologies which influence the prestige, authority, and monopoly of social work as a profession. The statistical and typological

procedures were employed in the schematic analysis of the two-fold problem. A survey based upon a selected bibliography of the scientific and professional literature in the fields of sociology and social work furnished the sources upon which the treatment of social work as a profession was based. Simple descriptive statistical procedures were used in the analysis of the empirical data gathered by the questionnaire method. The entire population of two groups of social workers in Dallas, Texas participated in the study.

The professions have resulted from the gradual emergence of the traditional professions, the creation of new professions to meet the needs resulting from modern Western Society, the appearance of the semi-professions resulting from bureaucracy, and the aspirations of the would-be professions which would like to share in the social and economic benefits impinging upon professional status. There are definite characteristics which have been incorporated into sets of criteria on which the degree of professionalism may be measured. In this manner professions in themselves became differentiated.

Social work services have been grouped around several basic methods which include social casework, group work, and community organization. There are several interpretations of social work ranging from the common man-on-the-street version to the practical science explanation of social work. There is agreement on many elements of social work, but points of difference arise around the basic functions of social work, areas of competence, methods and processes, and

social work practices. Social work has been referred to as an art and a science, as a field and a practice.

Social work as a profession is focused upon the people who perform a social service and how social work services are organized. The concern with professionalization in social work began about the turn of the twentieth century. The friendly visitors became aware of the need for specialized training in order to be able to function more effectively with their clients. Training and education facilities were developed in response to this need. There was then the beginning of graduate professional training for social workers in the United States. In turn, agencies recognized this new kind of paid social worker with specialized training. From Flexner in 1915 to Greenwood in 1957, many attempts have been made to set up criteria by which the degree of professionalization in social work can be measured. The divergent views on the subject of professionalization in social work during this period can be summarized as follows: Flexner in 1915 considered that the social work of his day was not professional; Hollis and Taylor around the turn of the century referred to social work as still in its adolescence; Johnson regarded social work of this decade as approaching a "full-fledged" profession; and, Greenwood announced the maturity of social work when he said, "social work is already a profession."

Findings in each chapter of Part II and III have been reported in summary form at the end of each chapter. The conclusions and some implications for future concern are presented here.

In reference to the problems posed in the first stated purpose of this study, social work is a profession when measured by the attributes of a profession. According to Greenwood's ideal type, all professions seem to possess: (1) a systematic body of theory, (2) authority, (3) community sanction, (4) an ethical code, and (5) a culture.[1] Social work has developed a systematic body of theory even though it may not be as well defined as in the traditional professions. Social work education has moved beyond the level of apprenticeship training and is almost always affiliated with colleges and universities. The curricula of graduate schools of social work have been standardized by means of the accreditation process--a function of the Council on Social Work Education since 1952. The Council, through its organization and membership has moved toward a synthesis in the field as it brings together representatives of social work practice, social work education, general education, and the public. Research which is recognized as the systematic investigation intended to add to the common store of communicable and verifiable knowledge, has not as yet taken on a distinguishing pattern in social work, and it leans heavily upon related fields, especially the social sciences. However, the body of knowledge in social work has taken on internal organization through research-oriented studies of practice and the educational curriculum.

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[1] Greenwood, op. cit.

Social work, like most other occupations in the process of professionalization, strives to achieve the powers and privileges which are considered attributes of a profession. The client's subordination to professional authority invests social work with a kind of monopoly of judgment. There are norms which limit and set boundaries of the professional authority in the client-worker relationship. These norms in social work as well as most of the traditional professions are based upon the impersonal relationship, emotional neutrality, impartiality, the ideal of service, and confidentiality. These norms and others have been incorporated in the practice of social work.

Authority by community sanction is an important attribute of the profession. This type of authority may be legal and regulated by an ' arm of the government. Two very important powers exercised by a profession are the control over its training centers and control over admission to the field. Control over training centers in social work is exercised by the accreditation of graduate schools of social work. The experience of legal regulation in several states and cities indicates that in social work this problem is a complex one. The national volunteer plan of certification of social workers sponsored by the professional organization is a movement toward community sanction but should not be confused with legal regulation of practice. Legal regulation in social work will require a more specific definition of social work practice which spells out areas of technical competence and functional uniqueness more clearly than at the present stage of development in the field.

Professional behavior is regulated by the formal and informal ethical standards in the field. The code for social workers has clearly set forth a pattern of behavior norms for the social worker which covers four areas of relationships: (1) the social worker-client relationship, (2) the colleague relationship, (3) the relationship of the worker to the agency, and (4) the relationship of the worker to the community. Any profession operates through a network of formal and informal groups, and the interaction of the social roles required by these groups constitutes a professional culture. The culture of a profession includes ideologies, norms, and symbols. Every profession has its own subculture, and no systematic study of the subculture of social work has been carried out.

So, even though it can be said that social work is a profession, this by no means implies that social work has reached absolute professionalization, and this end may not be the one most desired for social work.

This interpretation and analysis of social work as a profession based upon the experience of people at the professional level does not present a very clear image to the public. What is the subculture of social work as a profession has created the confused image of social work now held by the public?

The second stated purpose of this study was to analyze some elements of the subculture of social work with particular emphasis upon occupational ideologies which influence the prestige, authority,

and monopoly of social work as a profession.

One very important factor in a profession is its concept of itself--the image it hopes to project to its members and the community. Several questions both inside and outside the profession have been raised in reference to this image. The real question is whether social workers believe that they are members of an independent discipline with a service and method which is backed by transferable knowledge and teachable skills. Another question is whether social workers believe that social work is a derivative profession or a full profession in which they are able to determine the field, the controls, the educational content, and area of competence. Will social work be able to demand its rightful place in the community? The role of the social worker in the various levels of function creates variations in the authority and status for the social worker; and it presents a confused picture to the public. As long as there are confused self-images among social workers, will the prestige of social work be left to the evaluation of those outside the field? How do social workers evaluate their profession?

Empirical data based upon the response of two groups of social workers reveals that they are convinced that social work ranks high in its power to help others. Out of ten professions, all endowed with some power to help people, social workers ranked their own profession second; medicine ranked first. The term "power" was used in this study to mean the abilities based upon professional skill and competence. This segment of the self-image of the social worker is encouraging, but

the lack of agreement among social workers themselves as displayed by the two groups in this study concerning the profession's power to help people might be an indication of incongruence in the status of social work. However, there is at least clear evidence of a healthy self-respect among social workers with regard to their ability to help. If in the professions the power to help is a value, social workers feel that their profession offers it to its practitioners. The social workers in this study believed that the ministry, teaching, and medicine were the professions most similar to social work. Other occupations considered similar to social work were counseling, psychiatry, and psychology. Social workers identify their work situation in terms of service, at least with the service professions, which is in agreement with the fact that social workers believe that the social work profession provides them with the power to help others.

Social workers agreed more on the professions which they considered similar to social work than on the occupations which were dissimilar. Of the ten occupations considered very unlike social work, only law and dentistry had been included among the professions and occupations similar to social work. Therefore, social workers both by their selection of occupations similar and dissimilar to social work associate themselves with the traditional services and feel that their work is very different from the business world and specialized occupations like engineering, architecture, science, and accounting.

Two general conclusions concerning the prestige of social work

are: (1) the prestige of social work based upon the social worker's self-ranking is middle range in the general occupational hierarchy and low in the professions; (2) the prestige level of social work in the hierarchy of professions is not clear even among social workers themselves. The social workers placed social work eighth in rank order of this study of thirteen occupations. Yet it has been demonstrated that they believe their power to help is great in comparison to other helping professions. This would certainly be a factor in the "complex social climate" in which social workers practice. Social workers themselves are not as clear about the prestige of social work as they are about the other occupations. Social work was the only occupation which received responses ranking all the way from rank one to thirteen. Social workers certainly lack agreement in the ranking of their own profession. The fact that social workers rank social work high in the power to help and low in prestige certainly contributes to what some in the field have referred to as "status dilemma." Are there some satisfactions in the practice of social work which compensate for this imbalance of prestige factors?

Social work as a profession is service-oriented as indicated by the satisfactions which are derived from work. Services to troubled people, prevention of individual and social breakdown, and contact with clients were work satisfactions ranking highest with social workers. Social workers derived the least satisfaction from physical setting, financial returns, and security in employment.

This study supports some general conclusions and gives rise to some implications on the social background and profile of the social worker.

Social workers in general are primarily of middle-class background according to their own self-estimate of class identification. However, there was enough difference in the two groups of social workers in this study to evoke some questions. Twenty-three per cent of the DPW workers considered themselves upper class as compared to 10 per cent of the NASW members. Slightly over 40 per cent of the DPW group were reared in towns of 2,500 or less and on farms. In small communities, social position is often determined equally as much by criteria based upon family background, types of association, and consumption as by income and occupation. The data suggest that these people with rural background might have transferred this system of social classification into the urban setting.

On the other hand, the NASW members who were generally urban-oriented ranked themselves less than half as often in the upper class. Yet, from the standpoint of income the NASW group earned about $2,000 annually more than the DPW workers and occupied positions at the top of the professional pyramid. Self-identification is a complex of life experiences and personality traits; an occupation is only a part of the complex. The way a person interprets his experiences, including those in his occupation, is influenced by his ideology which in turn is affected by his education, family background, and other factors. Other questions

implied by these data are: (1) Would the high per cent of women in the DPW group be a factor in the high upper-class identification? (2) Is this high proportion of upper class identification a compensating mechanism? (3) Does this mean that professionally the DPW group have little or no opportunity for upward mobility, and that social status is not so much influenced by occupation as by other factors?

Social workers as a group gave other evidence of middle class background. The social workers' fathers engaged in a wide range of occupations. Farmers, retail merchants, engineers, salesmen, contractors, and doctors were the occupations most listed. Together the self-estimate of the fathers' income and fathers' occupation of the Dallas social workers indicated that they came from economically substantial families, whose fathers engaged in a wide variety of occupations with some clustering in the professional, proprietary, and agrarian occupational groupings. The kind of person an individual marries and the friends he cultivates are indicators of intimate associations. Less than one half (45 per cent) of the social workers in this study were married. Many individuals were widowed, divorced, or separated. About one third (34 per cent) were single. Fourteen of the 25 married men listed the wife's present occupation as teacher, social worker, nurse, bookkeeper, secretary, and stenographer. Women in the field of social work were married to business executives, managers, salesmen, college professors,, ministers, and professional and white-collar groups.

The profession often tends to prescribe or limit the circle of friends which is displayed by the respondents in this study. Social workers chose their friends more from social work than any other occupational group. Other friends included teachers, housewives, doctors, business people and secretaries.

The average social worker in Dallas owns his own six-room home occupied by two or three persons. He is a member of a church. If church membership and religious affiliation are indicative of a stable and conservative middle class group, the social workers in this study very definitely qualify.

Financial returns is one of the least satisfying aspects of the social work situation. However, according to the respondents in this study, social work salaries were much improved over salaries of 1950 and 1955. The median salary for the entire population of social workers in the study was lower than the 1959 average of effective buying income per household for Dallas. In general men received higher salaries than women; however, three out of the seven in the highest income bracket were women. About 45 per cent of the social workers indicated they had income in addition to social work salaries.

The following conclusion is not new in the field of social work. The age and sex characteristics in this population, even in a more accentuated manner, support the association made by the general public of social work with women's occupations. One important role conflict results from discrepancies between sex role and the professional role.

This kind of conflict usually is seen in the situation of the male practitioner and the female supervisor or administrator. This is the reason why men do not remain long in direct service positions and women sometimes do not receive the highest supervisory and administrative jobs. There is a norm in the American culture which implies that a woman should not be in authority over men in the same social class and of approximately the same age level. In a profession where many women may in some cases have a higher level of training and greater technical competence, they are not granted positions of authority on an equal basis with men. A man often feels his self-image has been threatened by subordination to women at work.[2] Therefore, in social work, the stereotype is that of a woman--one usually not very flattering to a woman or to social work as a profession. This conflict in the sex role and the professional role is a most unfortunate situation which adds to the confusion of the self-image of the social worker and does not enhance the prestige of social work.

The boundaries of social work as a profession are not well-established. This is indicated by the responses of the social workers in this study in which they were asked to check agreement or disagreement with six statements concerning the nature and scope of social work. The respondents in this study displayed considerable agreement upon the nature of the functions and services of social work. The social workers were sure that social work is not just a work occupation, but they are not convinced that it is a profession, independent of all other

[2]Wilensky and LeBeaux, op. cit., p. 322-324.

professions and occupations. The respondents were most in agreement upon a combination of three statements as being descriptive of the nature and scope of social work: (1) social work includes functions clearly defined and accepted as professional services, and others not so clearly defined and accepted; (2) social work is a professional service with several specializations; and (3) social work should include all welfare services and assistance programs. This is an expression of social workers themselves. This combination seems to imply that social work is not yet ready to give up some of its broader areas of services and assistance for the sake of narrow technical competence. Can a pattern for the profession be mapped out which would incorporate such broad and diverse areas as indicated by the three statements above? The status of the social worker and the prestige of social work probably hinge to some degree on a more precise limitation of the field. The occupational ideology in social work which stems from the humanitarian ideology in the culture as a whole is not compatible with the disinterested competence which is a mark of a profession. The problem for social work is to formulate a workable definition of social work which would allow for recognition of the areas of competence and define the role of the professional and non-professional social worker. This would require a degree of differentiation likely to create more specific positions which would affect the subculture of social work. As a result formal and informal groupings would develop around specialized groups and groupings. It is possible that several social work groups are

developing norms which are a potential source of conflict within social work itself.

One very crucial problem in social work today is the gap between what is desired in the education of social workers and what really exists. The educational requisites for entrance into social work practice have now been standardized and these standards are insured by the process of accreditation of the graduate schools of social work. However, at this time, there are many in the field who do not qualify from the standpoint of educational background. Slightly over 84 per cent of all social workers in this study believed that social workers should have graduate professional education, and yet only 36 per cent of the social workers held the M.S.W. degree. This is evidence that the desired educational attainment for social workers exceeds the actual training of the workers in this group.

Social work, in its attempt to remain a dynamic field, has until recently overlooked the generic approach to social work method and practice. The movement toward the generic in social work education has more or less paralleled the merging of the professional associations, but according to the response of the social workers in this study, the concept of the generic approach has not thoroughly permeated the social work field at the practice level. All ten areas of field work suggested by the questionnaire were supported by a substantial percentage, enough to demonstrate the importance of all areas. The writer is aware of the fact that the new curriculum report will have some recommendations in

this area. Meanwhile, it appears that a thorough study of the subculture of social work practice might reveal some important aspects in the formal and informal organization in social work.

Social work is not a free practicing profession, and it operates through a wide range of agency and organizational settings. The role of the social worker may sometimes be in conflict with the policies and procedures of the setting. The regulations of some authoritative agencies thwart the social worker in a practice situation. The red tape and waste of effort may prevent the social worker from carrying out the true diagnostic-therapeutic process of social work. The social worker may also tend to identify with the agency goals rather than with social work goals when his practice is in the clinical, educational, and organizational settings other than the social work agency. The social worker as a member of a team and one who serves in an auxiliary capacity may experience role conflict in the struggle for identification. The individual's self-image of the social worker is often threatened in such situations.

If position title is an indicator of specialization, certainly social work is specialized according to the broad range of titles given by practitioners and other personnel in the field. The social work personnel in this group represented 66 at the practitioner level, 41 in the administrative and supervisory positions, and ten specialists. Social workers are not only specialists operating in other fields, but social work has its specialists from other areas. It appears to this writer that social work

positions in the past have been classified more on the functional significance of the position; but some concern (not so clear) about the hierarchy of positions in social work is making an appearance now. The data in this study indicate that in social work there are several functional positions which are accepted by the majority of social workers; but there are other marginal and peripheral positions which do not at this time add any degree to the clarity of the overall structure of social work positions.

Social workers are career-minded. They think of social work as a calling--a life devoted to "good works." Social workers indicated that they entered social work as a profession and remained in the field for a number of reasons. However, the central theme was that social work offered an opportunity to help people. Social workers were strongly motivated to choose social work as a profession because of its enabling process and problem-solving service.

Social workers should be encouraged to move toward a more specific image of the professional self in social work, but this development depends upon the degree of authority and prestige developed by the profession of social work.

Social work is a profession, but the movement toward professionalization in social work is complicated by the conflict in norms and ideologies of its own subculture and those of the general culture: humanitarianism versus technical competence; traditional sex roles versus new professional roles; middle class standards of social workers versus the

variation of social background of clientele; and "rugged individualism" versus social responsibility. The process of professionalization is further complicated by the low occupational prestige of social work which is in conflict with the social workers' firm belief in their power to help others.

Social work as a profession has made great advancement in the development of good educational facilities, the accumulation of a body of knowledge on which its practice is based, the formulation of a code of ethics, the acceptance of certain professional behavior standards.

This study, which claims no definitiveness, does indicate a real need for an investigation of social work practice which would thoroughly explore the implications resulting from this inquiry.

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APPENDIX A

December 16, 1958

Miss Reba M. Bucklew
Assistant Professor
Texas Woman's University
Department of Sociology
Denton, Texas

Dear Miss Bucklew:

Mr. Glasser is now in Tokyo, but I shall forward your letter to him at The National Foundation. I am sure he will be interested to see it upon his return.

Meanwhile, I wanted you to know of our interest in your dissertation. I am sure that Mr. Glasser will be very happy to have your comments concerning his article. If you have an extra copy of the brief study which you did last year, we would be very much interested in reading it.

We have begun preliminary explorations into the possibility of research into public attitudes toward the social work profession. We are not yet far enough along to be of much assistance to you. As a first step we have had some conversations with the staff at the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia. We envision using an interview method, and possibly utilizing the voluntary services of the Chapters of NASW. I am afraid, however, that we are not far enough along to be of much assistance to you. Please do, however, keep us informed of progress which you make for although you have written us for assistance, I fear we will be looking to you for assistance.

Cordially,

/s/ Bertram M. Beck
Bertram M. Beck
Associate Executive Director

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE AND COVER LETTER

OCCUPATIONAL IDEOLOGIES AND THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

In asking for your cooperation in filling out the following questionnaire, I would like to explain that the information is to be used in an objective and scientific manner for my dissertation research. You do not have to give your name, and no identification of the individual will be made. The questions involve both fact and opinion. In answering the questions involving opinion, please give your own attitude and do not discuss the matter with others.

ABOUT SOCIAL WORK

A. THE SCOPE OF SOCIAL WORK:

yes___no___1. Social work is a single profession, independent of all other professions and occupations.

yes___no___2. Social work includes functions clearly defined and accepted as professional services, and others not so defined and accepted.

yes___no___3. Social work is a professional service with several specializations.

yes___no___4. Social work should include all welfare services and assistance programs.

yes___no___5. Social work should include only highly specialized services offered by professionally trained practitioners.

yes___no___6. Social work is not a profession--only a work occupation.

B. SOCIAL WORK -- A HELPING PROFESSION:

The power to help others is important to many professions. How would you rank social work with other helping professions?

(1) Number from 1 to 10 the following professions and occupations according to which has the most power (abilities based upon professional skill and competence) to help people:

___ nursing	___ law
___ dentistry	___ social work
___ psychoanalysis	___ teaching
___ medicine	___ public relations
___ ministry	___ occupational therapy

(2) Name three occupations that are very similar to social work:

(a) _____ (b) _____

(c) _____

(3) Name three occupations that are very dissimilar to social work:

(a) _____ (b) _____

(c) _____

(4) What do you consider the greatest satisfactions you derive from social work? Number in order of importance:

___contact with clients
___training and supervising workers
___association with colleagues
___contributions to society
___good physical setting
___financial returns
___security in employment
___service to troubled people
___prevention of individual and social breakdown
___personal growth as an outgrowth of professional development
___continuing progress of profession in knowledge, skill, & recognition
___others -- list

_____

C. PRESTIGE (OCCUPATIONAL):

Number the following occupations in the order of their "social standing" or in the order in which people engaged in the occupations are "looked-up-to" or "down-to" in the community.

___ doctor
___ plant executive
___ social worker
___ salesman
___ carpenter
___ banker
___ secretary
___ lawyer
___ store owner
___ plant foreman
___ clerical worker
___ school teacher
___ minister

ABOUT SOCIAL WORKERS

A. TRAINING AND EDUCATION:

Do you believe that the social worker should have graduate professional education? yes___ no___

Should undergraduate prerequisites for graduate professional study be uniformly established? yes___ no___

Do you believe that generic social work training is sufficient for professional social work practice? yes___ no___

Do you believe that field work in the following fields of practice should be included in the curriculum of the graduate professional school of social work? (Check)

___ group work
___ social work administration
___ psychiatric social work
___ medical social work
___ probation service
___ school social work
___ social work research
___ community organization
___ family case work
___ children's services

B. SOCIAL WORK POSITIONS:

Which of the following positions do you consider the most desirable? Number from 1 to 5 in order of preference. Below give your reasons.

___ psychiatric social worker
___ family case worker
___ group worker
___ public welfare worker
___ probation worker
___ school social worker
___ child welfare worker
___ medical social worker
___ agency executive
___ executive of community organization

Reasons (write out)_____

_____

_____

What is the range of positions in your agency from the Executive down to the lowest professional? List in order of authority.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
4. _____ 5. _____ 6. _____
7. _____ 8. _____ 9. _____

C. SOCIAL STATUS:

If you were asked to classify your position in the community, in which of the following social classes would you consider yourself?

___ upper class ___ middle class ___ lower class
___ working class ___ don't know

How would you classify the community most typical of the one in which you were reared? Check one.

___ on farm
___ town under 2,500
___ city under 25,000
___ city of 25,000 to less than 50,000
___ city of 50,000 to less than 100,000
___ city of over 100,000

Your father's occupation is or was_____

How would you rate your father's income in his community during the time you were being reared?

___ In the upper one-third of the community

___ In the middle one-third of the community

___ In the lower one-third of the community

The occupation or profession of your husband (or wife) is _____

The previous occupation or profession of your husband (or wife)

_____

Please give the occupation or profession of the three persons whom you consider your most intimate friends: 1. _____

2. _____ 3. _____

ABOUT YOU

Age _____

Sex: Male _____ Female _____

Marital Status: Single ____ Married ___ Divorced ___ Separated ___ Widowed ___

Race: White ___ Negro ___ Mongoloid ___

Religion: Affiliation _____ or preference _____

Present position in social work: _____
title

_____, _____
type of work agency

Number of years in present position _____

Number of years in social work practice _____

Number of additional years experience in related fields _____
(classify and describe work) _____

_____

Other occupations and types of work performed _____

_____

Please indicate the training and education you have in social work:

Master of Social Work degree _____
Two years graduate social work training but no degree ___
One year graduate social work training ____ _____
One semester of graduate social work training _____

Institutes (describe) _____

_____

Seminars (specify) _____

_____

Bachelor of Arts or Science degree _____ in _____
major subject

Number of years in college _____

Other degree or special training _____

_____

Are you a member of N.A.S.W.? yes___ no___ Name of chapter _____

Are you a member of the Texas Social Welfare Association? yes__ no___

List your membership in other professional organizations _____

_____

_____

My present salary bracket is: (check one)

Under $1500	_____	$5500 - 5999	_____
$1500 - 2499	_____	6000 - 6499	_____
2500 - 3499	_____	6500 - 7499	_____
3500 - 4499	_____	7500 - 7999	_____
4500 - 4999	_____	8000 - 9999	_____
5000 - 5499	_____	10,000 or more	_____

Other income? Yes___ No ___

Do you own your home? yes___ no___
Rent a house? yes__ no ___
Rent an apartment? yes __ no ___

How many rooms are in your dwelling? _____ rooms
How many persons are there in your household? _____ persons.

Please write a brief paragraph on the reasons why you are now doing social work and why you chose social work as a profession. (Use the back of this sheet).

February 24, 1959

Dear Mrs. Mays:

Enclosed you will find a questionnaire to be used in my dissertation research, which is a study in the sociology of a profession. I have selected social work as the profession to be studied because of my educational background and experience in the field. I now hold the B.A. and M.A. degrees in sociology and the Master of Social Work degree from George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University. I am now an official candidate for the Ph.D. degree in sociology at Louisiana State University with all requirements but the dissertation finished.

It is hoped that the findings of this study may offer constructive contributions to the academic discipline of sociology and to the profession of social work.

The National Office of N.A.S.W. is aware of my study, and the Dallas Chapter voted at the January, 1959 meeting to grant me permission to use its mailing list in the selection of my sample for the study.

I will need your personal and professional contributions in this matter, and I am, therefore, soliciting your most valuable participation. Will you please fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it to me using the addressed and stamped envelope which is enclosed. I will appreciate an early reply.

Thank you for your consideration and cooperation.

Yours truly,

/s/ Reba M. Bucklew
Reba M. Bucklew
Member, Dallas Chapter of NASW
Assistant Professor, TWU

APPENDIX C

CODE OF ETHICS

The principles of ethical conduct which follow define the discipline necessary for carrying out the purposes of the profession, are binding upon members of the American Association of Social Workers and should be binding upon every person practicing social work as a vocation.

Principles of Professional Conduct

The social worker practices his profession in several areas in relationship with clientle, the employing agency, his colleagues, the community, and the profession itself.

A. Relation to Clientele--whether individuals, groups, or communities

The American Association of Social Workers believes that the social worker should:

1. Regard as his primary obligation the welfare of the persons served, consistent with the common welfare and as related to the agency function and/or defined by law.

2. Accept that in professional relationships his professional responsibility takes precedence over his personal aims and views.

3. Accept the right of persons served to make their own decisions and to act for themselves unless they freely give this authority to the agency or unless the agency must act in a protective role in order to safeguard the persons served or the community.

4. Accept the obligation to make available as objectively as possible all pertinent data needed to enable individuals and groups served to make decisions on an informed and responsible basis.

5. Respect and safeguard the right of persons served to privacy in their contacts with the agency, and to confidential and responsible use of the information they give.

6. Conduct all relations with and concerning the persons served with respect for individual differences and without discrimination either because of special interests or of personal identification with particular ideologies.

B. Relation to the Employing Agency

The American Association of Social Workers believes that the social worker should:

1. Act as an applicant for a position, give accurately all information pertinent to determining his qualifications for the position.

2. As an applicant, and as an employee, inform himself concerning the agency's program, policies and personnel regulations.

3. Accept employment and continue to work only in an agency whose policies and procedures permit him to follow, substantially, the ethical principles of this code; or, if the agency does not have such standards, remain only if the agency makes a planned effort to revise its policies and procedures in accordance with these principles.

4. Observe an employment contract unless changed by mutual consent.

5. Take into full consideration his own limitations in accepting assignments. When employed as supervisor or administrator, the social worker should take into full consideration the worker's competence both in connection with employment and in making assignments.

6. Hold himself responsible for quality and quantity of performance in carrying out agency objectives and policies according to established procedures; and work continuously through agency channels to improve its procedures, services and personnel practices.

7. Accept responsibility, when functioning in an administrative or supervisory capacity, to provide channels for staff participation in formulation of agency policies and procedures, and to encourage and facilitate use of these channels by the staff.

8. If agency policies and procedures violate professional standards, a) accept the obligation to make all due effort to effect change through appropriate agency and professional channels; b) refrain from irresponsible public criticism of agency's policies; c) appeal to the wider community on the basis of objective and substantial evidence only after agency and professional channels have been exhausted.

9. Upon termination of employment with an agency for whatever reason, have a continuing obligation to act responsibly in accordance with professional ethics regarding disclosure of information obtained during employment.

C. Relation to Colleagues

The American Association of Social Workers believes that the social worker should:

1. Treat respectfully the position and accomplishments of colleagues and express judgment on matters related to professional performance only through established channels.

2. Assume appropriate responsibility for sharing knowledge with colleagues.

3. Conduct himself in such a way as to support, rather than obstruct, his colleagues in fulfilling their responsibilities.

4. Treat respectfully differences of opinion between himself and his colleagues and, as far as possible, take positive steps to resolve such differences.

5. Treat all colleagues without discrimination.

6. If working in a setting where another profession or group has major responsibility, maintain identification with the social work profession and integrate it with the major function and purpose of the organization.

7. Give employment references in which:

   a) data are complete, factually correct and related to professional performance;

   b) a true appraisal of the worker is given;

   c) no information is given which has not been shared in substance with the subject when the writer has been professionally responsible for evaluating the subject;

   d) the writer clearly states his relationship with the subject.

8. Seek references in a responsible manner and hold in confidence the references he receives.

9. Employ, promote, demote, dismiss personnel, or recommend for employment, promotion, demotion or dismissal of personnel, on the basis of objective and relevant data obtained through appropriate channels.

D. Relation to the Community

The American Association of Social Workers believes that the social worker should:

1. Contribute his knowledge, skills and support to programs of community improvement.

2. Affirm and interpret the importance of professional education, training and experience as they relate to professional competence.

3. Affirm and interpret the rights of social workers to good personnel practices in agencies.

4. Accept responsibility to initiate and to share in the effort to protect the community against unethical practice on the part of individuals or organizations engaged in social welfare programs.

5. Render professional service in public emergencies.

6. Hold himself responsible to the public for quality and quantity of performance and for accounting of his stewardship.

7. In public statements or actions, make clear whether he is acting or speaking as an individual or as a delegated representative of a professional association or agency, and, at all times, be accurate, exercise proper restraint and show respect for the opinion of others.

E. Relation to the Profession of Social Work

The American Association of Social Workers believes that the social worker should:

1. Support and consistently work to improve the standards of the profession.

2. Sustain and enhance public confidence in the profession through maintaining integrity and self-discipline in personal behavior.

3. Defend the social work profession against unjust attach and misrepresentation.

4. Assume responsibility for determining objectively and for helping correct condictions which lead to justifiable criticism of the social work profession.

Source: "Standards for the Professional Practice of Social Work," Supplement to Social Work Journal, July, 1952, pp. 5-7.

APPENDIX D

The Following Studies of Occupational Prestige Include Social Work

1. Morgan C. Brown, "The Status of Jobs and Occupations as Evaluated by an Urban Negro Sample," American Sociological Review, XX (October, 1955).

2. Walter Coutu, "The Relative Prestige of Twenty Professions as Judged by Three Groups of Professional Students," Social Forces, XIV (May, 1936).

3. Willa Freeman Grunes, "Looking at Occupations," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LIV (January, 1957).

4. "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, IX (September 1, 1947) North-Hatt Study.

5. Clara Menger, "The Social Status of Occupations for Women," Teachers College Record, XXXIII (May, 1932).

6. Norman Polansky, William Bowen, Lucille Gordon, and Conrad Nathan, "Social Workers in Society," Social Work Journal, I (April, 1953).

7. Social Prestige of Occupations--A Study of the Relative Prestige Among High School Seniors, Occupational Planning Committee of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1955 (mimeographed).

8. Mapheus Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige Status of Occupations," American Sociological Review, VIII (April, 1943).

9. Raymond B. Stevens, "The Attitudes of College Women Toward Women's Vocations," Journal of Applied Psychology, XXIV (October, 1940).

10. Lillian K. Wald, "Social Norms as Determinants in the Interpretation of Personal Experiences," Journal of Social Psychology, XIX (May, 1944).

11. R. Clyde White, "Social Workers in Society: Some Further Evidence," Social Work Journal, XXXIV (October, 1953).

12. R. Clyde White, "Prestige of Social Work and the Social Worker," Social Work Journal, XXXVI (January, 1955).

Source: Alfed Kadushin, "Prestige and Social Work--Facts and Factors," Social Work, III (April, 1958).

VITA

Reba Muriel Bucklew was born September 15, 1914 in Wardville, Oklahoma. She attended elementary schools there and in Lamesa, Texas, and graduated from Lamesa High School in 1932. She was employed as social worker by the Texas Relief Commission and Works Progress Administration from 1932 to 1937. After working two years for A. G. Waugh Company in Lamesa, Texas, she resigned from her job and entered the Texas State College for Women in September, 1939.

She earned the B.A. degree in sociology from Texas State College for Women in Denton, Texas, in 1943 and the M.A. degree in 1946 from the same institution. She was awarded the M.S.W. degree from the George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1950.

During the summer of 1947 she was enrolled in the School of Social Welfare at Louisiana State University. The summer of 1956 was spent at the University of Minnesota where she was enrolled in courses in sociology and social work.

She was employed as Dormitory Director in Residence at the Texas State College for Women from 1940 to 1946, and taught part-time in the Department of Sociology from 1944 to 1946.

In September of 1957 she was granted a leave-of-absence from Texas State College for Women and embarked upon a graduate program

at Louisiana State University and is now a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in sociology.

She has been employed as instructor in the Department of Sociology at Texas Woman's University from 1944 to 1949 and as assistant professor from 1949 to the present.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Reba Muriel Bucklew

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Occupational Ideologies and Professionalization in Social Work

Approved:

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination: July 10, 1959